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# THE INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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EDITED BY  
NARENDRA NATH LAW

# The Indian Historical Quarterly

EDITED BY

DR. NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., B.L., F.R.S., PH.D.

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# The Indian Historical Quarterly

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No. 1

## Myths explaining some alien traits of the North-Indian Sun-icons

The extant sun images of north India dating from a comparatively early period are characterised by some non-Indian features. The most important element in these alien traits is their *udīcyaveśa* ('the dress of a northerner'). It consists of a long heavy cloak covering practically the whole of the body, and some sort of 'boots' or 'leggings'. This type of garment, though not in vogue among the Indians of ancient times, was much in use among her early foreign rulers of the Śaka, Pahlava and Kuṣāṇa stocks. The headless inscribed statue of Mahārājādhirāja Devaputra Kaniṣka in the Mathura Museum typifies this mode of dress, some not far distant copies of which can be recognised in such extant sun-icons of the Gupta period as the Bhumārā Sūrya in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. One of the earliest texts alluding to this trait of the Sūrya figures is the passage in the chapter on Pratimālakṣmaṇam (ch. 57) of the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (S. Dvivedi's Edition). It reads:—*Kuryādudīcyaveśam gūḍhaṃ pādādūro yāvat*, i.e., '(the figure of the sungod) should be made with the dress of a northerner, (the body) from the feet upwards to (the top of) the breast being hidden (i.e., covered by a garment)'. It further characterises these images as *kuṇḍalabhūṣitavadanaḥ* ('face adorned with ear-rings'), *viyad (ñ) gavṛtaḥ* ('with a *viyadga*, *viyaṅga*, or *avyaṅga*, the Indianised form of *aiwiyaonghana*, the sacred waist-girdle of the Iranians, attached') and *kañcukaguptaḥ smitaprasannamukhaḥ* ('his smiling pleasant face being covered partly by a cheek-plate?')<sup>1</sup>. Scholars arrived at the conclusion on the basis of unmis-

<sup>1</sup> *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (S. Dvivedi's Edition), Ch. 57, vv. 46-8.



takable literary evidence that a type of solar cult was introduced into India from Eastern Iran in the early centuries of the Christian era; the peculiar non-Indian features of Sūrya icons were long ago regarded as nothing but its archaeological corroborations. These elements were, however, gradually subdued, and in comparatively late sun images of northern India the covering of the upper part of the body was barely suggested by the artists, though their legs continued to be shown as encased in 'boots'. The nearest Indian analogy of the *udīcyaveśa* which the ancient myth-makers of India could think of was the *kavaca*, the protective coat of mail, which was well-known to them from a very early period<sup>2</sup>. In somewhat later iconographic literature like the *Viṣṇudharmottara* (Bk. III) etc., the god is described as 'covered with an armour' (*kavacenābhisamṛtaḥ*), though such terms as *udīcyaveśa* and *pāṇīyāṅga* (this should be *avyāṅga*) are also used in this connection (*Udīcyaveśa*—wrongly written here as *āpīcyaveśa-ssvākārassaruābharanābhūṣitaḥ*.....*Kartavyā raśanā cāsyā pāṇīyāṅgeti samjñitā*; it should be noted that *pāṇīyāṅga* or *avyāṅga* is rightly called here a *raśanā* or a waist-girdle). The texts noted above are of north-Indian origin; the only probable south-Indian text known to me referring to this feature in a slightly different manner is the *Pūrvakāraṇāgama*. A passage in its 13th section (*paṭala*) as quoted by T. A. G. Rao describes the god as 'having his body covered with an armour' (*kañcukāñcitaviḡraham*); but his feet are described as 'adorned' with a zone or girdle' (*pādan sakatakan*)<sup>3</sup>. The *Matsya-purāṇa* (Vaṅgavāsi Edition, ch. 261, v. 4) contains the interesting record that 'it is only in some sculptures that the body (of the god) is shown covered with a garment consisting of two pieces of cloth, his feet being (really) covered by his effulgence (*Colakacchannavapuṣaṁ kvaciccitṛṣṇu darśayet Vastrayugmasamopetaṁ caranaṁ tejasāvṛtaṁ*). It was shown by the present writer long ago that the writers of such texts had in their view two different types of Sūrya figures, north-Indian and south-Indian, the former with the alien traits and the latter without them; the closely covered body and the 'booted' legs

2 Cf. the Vedic description of Varuṇa who is described as wearing a golden coat of mail (*ubhṛad-īpīm hṇanyayaṁ Varuṇo*, *RV.*, I. 25. 13).

3 *El. Hindu Iconography*, vol. I, App. C, pp. 89-90. The text reads *sakhetakan* which Rao emends as *sakatakan*; if the original reading is retained, the passage would mean 'the feet with shields,' i.e., the shielded or the covered feet!

of the former were explained away by them in their own manner<sup>4</sup>. The myth-makers of ancient India, however, do not seem to have been much familiar with the peculiar top-boots on the legs of the god, their explanations regarding them, as will be presently shown, being not at all of a convincing character.

One of the stories indirectly associated with the shoes on the divine feet may be found in the epic account of the introduction of the use of shoes among mankind for the first time. How shoes made of (animals') skin were first presented to the sage Jamadagni along with an umbrella by the sungod in the guise of an old Brahmin as protective devices against the burning rays of the sun is glibly told in the *Mahābhārata* (Anuśāsanaparvan, chs. 95-6). But the connection of this account with the main alien trait of the north-Indian images of Sūrya is not definite and clear. The epic reference, however, to some peculiar physical features of Karṇa appears to have distinct bearing on it, and thus deserves special attention. The *Mahābhārata* refers on various occasions and contexts to the *kavaca* and *kuṇḍala* adorned with which Karṇa was born from the womb of his mother Kuntī, before she was married to Pāṇḍu. Sūrya was invoked by her in her virgin state to test the efficacy of a *mantra* (charm) received by her from Durvāsā, after having satisfied the dire sage with her untiring service during his stay at her father's place. The god appeared before her and had an union with her in spite of her fears and wishes. When Karṇa was born to her in due course, he was found to have attached to his body a *kavaca* and gold bright *kuṇḍala*, and to possess the bull-like shoulders and greenish yellow eyes of his father<sup>5</sup>. These inborn *kavaca* and *kuṇḍala* made Karṇa indestructible, and when Indra in the guise of an old Brahmin begged them from him, he at first politely refused to part with them on account of this very reason<sup>6</sup>. But Indra who was asking for these things in the interest of the Pāṇḍavas and specially of his own son Arjuna, insisted on having them. Karṇa who was a great giver and who could not refuse any request (he was nick-named Dātā-Karṇa), at last agreed to cut them out of his body,

4 *Indian Antiquary*, 1925, p. 169.

5 *Mbh.*, III, 307, 4-5.

6 *Mbh.*, III, 309, 6ff.

Indra guaranteeing that no hideous scars would mar his body due to this operation<sup>7</sup>. Karṇa then took a sharp weapon, and cut them out of his limbs (*Śastraṁ grhītvā niśitam sarvagātrānyutkr̥ntata*). The aforesaid details about Karṇa's life leave little doubt that in them is to be found a fairly clear allusion to the particular trait of the Sūrya icons of the re-orientated sun cult of northern India. *Kavaca* of course stands for the close covering,—the *udīcyaveśa*,—of Sūrya; but the significance of *kuṇḍala* in this bearing is not very clear, if it is meant to stand for an 'ear-ring'. It is true that in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* description of the sun icons, mention is made of it as a face ornament; but so much stress is laid in this epic story on *kuṇḍala* (this section is called *Kuṇḍalāharaṇaparva*), the word seems to have some association with another of their alien traits. If it is understood in its original sense which is something like a circular rope-coil, we may find here a reference to the *avyaṅga* of the texts noted above. It should be observed, however, that in the epic passages containing such references to *kuṇḍala*, as we have them now, the word is used in the sense of an ear-ring; but can it be regarded as a case of more common sense of a word influencing its less common one, and thus introducing the necessary change in the texts? In any case the allusion to Karṇa's inborn *kavaca* is without doubt based on the *udīcyaveśa* of the figures of his father. It may also be noted incidentally that such an explanation also helps us to assign an approximate date to these *Mahābhārata* passages; they thus belong to the post-Christian period. A brief reference to the birth of Revanta as given in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* will also enable us to recognise in his description a similar but indirect reference to it. This son of Sūrya out of his union with his consort Saṃjñā in the shape of a mare in the Uttarakuru region was born 'holding a sword and bow, clad in armour, riding on horseback, and carrying arrows and a quiver'!<sup>8</sup>.

The story of Sūrya and his two consorts, Saṃjñā and Chāyā (Saṃjñā's 'shadow-substitute'), as narrated at length in the *Purāṇas* lays stress in a very interesting manner on this particular trait of one class of the sun-icons. The *Bhaviṣya* and the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas*

7 *Mbb.*, III, 309, 30-1.

8 F. E. Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (English Translation), p. 575.

among others give us in detail the story of the marriage of Sūrya with Saṃjñā, the daughter of Viśvakarmā; her flight from him because she could not bear the unendurable effulgence of her consort, leaving her shadow-form, Chāyā, with him as her substitute, in order that he might not notice her absence; her flight at first to her father's place and then to Uttarakuru where she performed austerities in the shape of a mare; Chāyā's discriminatory treatment of the two groups of Sūrya's children, one born out of his union with Saṃjñā, and the other out of that with her shadow-substitute (Vaivasvata Manu, Yama and Yamunā were the former's issues, Manu Sāvartī, Śanaīścara and Tapatī being those of the latter), leading to the god's disillusionment; his pursuit of Saṃjñā at first to her father's place and then to Uttarakuru; Viśvakarmā's efforts to reduce the unbearable brightness of Sūrya by putting him on his lathe (*bhramī*, *śaṇayantra*), peeling much of the upper part of his body but leaving his legs untouched (it has been noted above that a few texts like the *Matsya Purāṇa* lay down that his legs were covered by the god's 'tejas'); the union of Sūrya and Saṃjñā in the forms of a horse and a mare in Uttarakuru, out of which the twin-gods, the Aśvins and Revanta were born (as the Aśvins were born out of Saṃjñā's nose, they came to be known as the Nāsatyas, and as Revanta was born in the end of the semen-flow—*retasya ante*—, he came to be so named), etc<sup>9</sup>. There are two versions of the story in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*; in its second and more elaborate one reference is made to the permission given to Viśvakarmā by the sungod to trim and dim him as he appeared in Śakadvīpa<sup>10</sup>. This incidental allusion indicates in a subtle manner the necessity for this account of explaining the change in the bodily features of the god. The couplet just preceding this verse seems also to allude to the most ancient Iranian and Indian modes of depicting the sungod by means of such symbols as 'a round disc' or 'a wheel'. It reads :—

*Yato hi bhāsvato rūpaṃ prāgāsitparimaṇḍalam|  
Tatastatheti taṃ prāha Tvaṣṭāraṃ bhagavān Raviḥ||*

9 *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, chs. 57-8, 106-8.

10 *Viśvakarmā tvanuṣṇātaḥ Śakadvīpe vivasvataḥ|*

*Bhramimāropyā tattejaḥ śātanāyopacakrame||*

## 6 *Myths explaining some alien traits of North-Indian Sun-icons*

It means, 'In as much as the sun's form was formerly spherical, so the adorable sun said to Tvaṣṭṛ "Be it so"'. But what is of special interest in this connection is that the extensive mythology summarised above is nothing but an adaptation of the Vedic story about the marriage of Saranyu, the daughter of Tvaṣṭṛ, with Vivasvant, the sungod. The original story of Saranyu's marriage occurs as a *brahmodya* (a sort of riddle or a charade) in many of the Vedic texts<sup>11</sup>. In brief it appears to have been something like this:— Tvaṣṭṛ instituted a marriage pageant for his daughter Saranyu; at this news all the people of this earth came together. Yama's mother (she became so after her marriage), while being with mighty Vivasvant, disappeared. They hid away the immortal woman from the mortals, making a *savarnā* ('a like one'; cf. 'Chāyā' or the 'shadow-substitute' of the Purāṇic development) they gave her to Vivasvant. Afterwards she bore him the Aśvins who were abandoned by her<sup>12</sup>. Some scholars read in this Vedic myth a description of an astronomical phenomenon. Whatever the real interpretation of this story might be, there is no doubt that it served as the background of the elaborate story of Sūrya, Saṃjñā and Chāyā as told by the Purāṇas. It has been shown above what use was made of it by the Purāṇic myth-makers to explain some iconographic conventions connected with a group of Sūrya figures of the ancient and mediaeval periods in India. But the Purāṇic mythologists appear to have shut their eyes as to the incidence of some identical features in the representations of the several male and female attendants of the god in many north-Indian Sūrya-reliefs.

J. N. BANERJEA

<sup>11</sup> ṚV., I, 164, AV., IX, 9, 10; *Vājasaneyi Samhitā*, XXIII, 9-12, 49-52, 61-62 etc.

<sup>12</sup> For the Vedic myth, cf. M. Bloomfield's note on 'The Marriage of Saranyu, Tvaṣṭṛ's Daughter,' *JOS.* vol. XV, 1893, pp. 172-88.

# I-tsing's India

## *Introductory*

The history of Buddhism in China is nearly two millenia old. It was introduced there in the first century of the Christian era from India, the birth-place of that religion. Slowly but surely it infiltrated into China and took a deep root in the soil. Several Chinese warmly embraced the religion and practised its tenets with zeal. There were many enthusiasts among the Chinese who wished to visit the Holy Land, the birth-place of Buddhism, collect as many manuscripts as possible, get a true knowledge of this country and its practices, translate important Buddhist records in the Chinese language. Incidentally, some of them have left their own impressions of India, particularly those relating to its administration, education and religion. Among these pilgrim-scholars who came to India from China to study her conditions first-hand and whose records are still looked upon as authoritative sources for the reconstruction of the history of ancient India, three names stand out prominently.

The first pilgrim whose writings are valuable to students of Gupta history is Fahien, who visited the empire of Candragupta II Vikramāditya. His pilgrimage lasted nearly sixteen years beginning from A. D. 399 and his impressions of the Gupta rule and administration as well as his views on the religious conditions of his time are still regarded as an important source of information. Still later in the time of Harṣavardhana who came after the Guptas, Hiuen-tsang, a pilgrim famous in the Chinese annals visited India. His work, *Siyuki*, throws much light not only on Buddhism but also about life in the times of Harṣa. Hiuen-tsang spent considerable time, nearly seventeen years from A. D. 629 and his record has been largely drawn upon by students of Indian History as a valuable source of information.

Almost immediately after him came another Buddhist pilgrim, I-tsing by name in 678 A. D. though he had left China two years earlier. He followed the foot-steps of his predecessor. Like Hiuen-tsang, he too spent several years at Nālandā, collected some 400

Sanskrit texts and returned home by way of Farther India. The importance and value of his record was first noticed by the late Prof. Max Müller at whose insistence Prof. Takakusu undertook to render the record in English for the benefit of those interested in the work. Takakusu's translation of the record was published as long ago as 1896 by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, and even to-day it holds the field as an authoritative source-book on the condition of Buddhism in his time, i.e. about the close of the 7th century. It enables us to get some intimate knowledge of the working of the Nālandā University and is certainly an important contribution to Indian historical literature. We shall attempt in the following pages a study of the conditions prevailing in India at that time relating to Education and Religion, basing our observations on the material left behind by I-tsing.

### *Education*

At the time when I-tsing visited India, education was highly developed. Universities like Nālandā and Valabhi which in the words of the Chinese pilgrim "were the most magnificent temples of learning in Jambudvīpa" were in existence and the portals of these institutions were open to men of any school of thought both indigenous and foreign. It is said that I-tsing like his predecessor Hiuen-tsang spent ten years of strenuous life in the University of Nālandā. Though this University primarily catered to the needs of the Buddhist students and though Buddhism was taught in its various aspects still it is not entirely correct to say that the University of Nālandā was primarily a centre of Buddhist learning in India. In this University as in other institutions, which were prevalent then, the non-Buddhist subjects of study like the Vedas and Vedānta were taught. This shows that sectarian considerations did not influence the authorities of the institution. In matters of education their outlook was wide and tolerant. They imparted education for its own sake and enriched Indian culture and civilization by imbibing knowledge from foreigners too.

Though the origin of the Nālandā University is shrouded in mystery still it is reasonable to suppose that it started as a Buddhist vihāra which accommodated the Buddhist monks. In course of time the vihāras which were resorted to by the monks in the rainy season were

converted into centres of learning. A vihāra was a fully furnished building with verandahs, rooms and terraces provided with chairs, beddings and other things which were useful to the bhiksus. As generally men versed in sciences lived in the vihāras, students anxious to learn flocked from the neighbouring lands. This sometimes necessitated a prolonged stay with the result that a vihāra became transformed into a place of general learning. Nālandā was no exception to it.

I-tsing thought that the name Nālandā was a derivation from the expression Nāga Nanda. Whatever it may be, Nālandā achieved an early fame and housed hundreds of monks. It is believed that the Saṅghārāma at Nālandā was established by one Śakrāditya who is identified with Kumāragupta I of the Imperial Gupta line. If this were so, the Imperial Guptas who were the followers of Vaiṣṇava cult, could not found an educational institution entirely devoted to Buddhist literature. It therefore stands to reason that while there was a vast curriculum of orthodox studies Buddhist literature was by no means neglected and it went on side by side with the other systems of philosophy. To an impartial critic it appears that Nālandā possessed the nucleus necessary for a residential institution, and the Gupta ruler was thus able to convert it into a temple of learning. This must have taken place about 415 A. D.

Let us now look into the courses of studies at Nālandā. The remark of Hiuen-tsang that famous men from different parts of the land lived here and got their doubts cleared is corroborated by I-tsing who writes 'Thus instructed by their teachers and instructing others they (students) pass two or three years generally in the Nālandā monastery in Central India or in the country of Valabhi in Western India. There eminent and accomplished men assemble in crowds, discuss possible and impossible doctrines and after being assured of the excellence of their opinions by wise men, become far-famed for their wisdom.' Those who had attained scholastic knowledge had to appear at a test before they were allowed to go out into the world. From I-tsing's record, we learn that chanting was almost compulsory which was in conformity with the custom of ancient India to get things by rote. Students who were anxious to learn had to get things by heart and then listen to their instructors expounding them.



According to chapter 32 of I-tsing's record it seems that chanting was one of the necessary conditions in the courses of studies at Nālandā. The fact that I-tsing stresses this method and nicknames it as a ceremony shows that much importance was attached to chanting which developed into an art in the University of Nālandā, where there were more than 3000 monks. This chapter (32) also contains the celebrated names belonging to the Mahāyāna and the Hīnayāna schools.

In this connection we must not fail to note chapter 34 of I-tsing's Record on the method of learning in the West. Here mention is made of Grammar (Vyākaraṇa) of which as many as five works are mentioned. They comprise a work intended for beginners, the Sūtras or short aphorisms including the work of Pāṇini, the Dhātu or grammatical roots, the Khilas, and the commentaries on the Sūtras like the well-known work, *Kāśikā-vṛtti*. He says "that if men of China go to India for study, they are first of all to learn this (grammatical work), then other subjects; if not, their labour will be thrown away". This chapter of I-tsing is concluded by naming the distinguished teachers, who flourished during his time. These were Jñānacandra a master of the Law, Ratnasīṃha, Divākaramitra, Tathāgata Garbha etc. It must not be understood that all these teachers of eminence were residing in the Nālandā monastery. Excepting Ratnasīṃha who lived in Nālandā others resided in different parts of India. They had established their reputation as the foremost of the monks. I-tsing says "I, I-tsing, used to converse with these teachers so intimately that I was able to receive invaluable instruction, personally from them (lit. 'I came closely to their seats and desks and received and enjoyed their admirable words!')"

If we look into the records of not only Hiuen-tsang but also of I-tsing, we find that even astronomy was included in their curriculum. This shows, as pointed out by Havell in his study of *Indo-Aryan Civilization* (p. 141), that Nālandā contained an astronomical observatory which was patronised by the kings of the time. Logic, Tāntrism and similar subjects were found in its curriculum. Particularly the Buddhist pupils learnt these with avidity.

If we examine student life in the University, we find everything provided for a Gurukulaśiṣya. I-tsing himself says that as a student he was faithful to his master and attended to his primary needs and

even performed the household duties. Each student had the minimum requirement of apparel to whatever religion he belonged. From I-tsing it appears that a knowledge of Sanskrit was absolutely essential to prosecute his study in any University. Even at the age of six, students were admitted to a course of study. They mastered the alphabet and began with Grammar (see pp. 169-172). According to I-tsing those who sought admission for higher studies at the Universities were young folk of about 20 years in age. According to his authority a boy of 15 commenced studying *Vṛttisūtra* which he finished when he was 20. Speaking about the Buddhist students who underwent educational training, I-tsing distinguishes two classes, *Mānavas* and *Brahmacāris*. The *Mānavas* were monks, probably *bhikṣus*; *Brahmacāris* on the other hand were so many lay disciples who were followers of Buddhism (pp. 105 6). The *bhikṣu* was distinguished by his robes of which there were three kinds. I-tsing calls this a religious garment (p. 72).

A close examination of the record reveals that there was provision for three meals daily for a student. These were breakfast, lunch and supper (p. 117). According to the testimony furnished by this authority, once a student had his credentials tested by the University he could take to any walk of life (p. 117). Thus we see that in I-tsing's time education in India was widespread and it covered all aspects of human endeavour. If a man wanted to specialise in medicine, there was an appropriate course for him; if a *Kṣatriya* needed specialisation in archery, a course was open to him. The University was a comprehensive one and served the purpose of making every man proficient in his profession. Discipline was its keynote and the now much-despised caste system was looked upon with favour.

### *Religion*

At the time when I-tsing visited India Buddhism as a religion had only a few followers. It showed signs of decadence though there were a few monasteries still flourishing and prosperous. I-tsing confirms a tradition cited by another Chinese traveller Hwuilun in A.D. 665. He says "The old story goes that this temple (*Mṛgaśikhāvana*) was built by *Śrī Gupta* for the use of priests from China. At this time there were some monks, twenty or so in number, who, having

wandered away from Sz'chuen by the road known as Ko-yang (?) came out near the Mahābodhi and there offered their worship. The king moved with reverence on account of their piety, gave them a village of considerable extent, where they might remain and finally settle, twenty-four places in all.....This occurred some five hundred years ago or so<sup>1</sup>". These remarks of the two Chinese travellers could not be altogether wrong and the statement, we are inclined to think, suggests that the founder of the Imperial Gupta dynasty was one Śrī Gupta. Perhaps the date mentioned as 500 years ago may not be acceptable nor even the year of the foundation of the Gupta dynasty. Scholars who have examined the tradition as narrated by the Chinese accounts would not accept this Śrī Gupta as referring to the Śrī Gupta, who founded the Gupta empire. Though this date may not be authentic as it is only based on a tradition recorded by I-tsing, there is certainly some plausibility in the identification of Śrī Gupta of the Chinese tradition with the founder of the Imperial Gupta dynasty.

It may be remembered that the Imperial Guptas adopted the honorific *Paramabhāgavatas* and this clearly shows that they were Vaiṣṇavite in religion. Yet they never hated other religions such as Saivism or even Jainism. These religions thrived side by side with the state religion of the Guptas. Royal patronage was extended to other faiths. We know that Samudragupta allowed a Ceylonese king to erect a Buddhist vihāra at Bodh Gaya, and it is not unreasonable to say that Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta followed a similar tolerant religious policy. In spite of all this encouragement the condition of Buddhism as recorded by the Chinese traveller Hiuen-tsang is not quite satisfactory. Though there were several thousands belonging to the Hīnayāna school there were only a few monasteries, which patronised the Mahāyāna. The followers of the Hīnayāna (Little Vehicle) and Mahāyāna (Great Vehicle) had their own differences and sometimes there were controversies between them. Such controversies were prevalent in the time of Harṣa, the king himself taking part in the polemics.

I-tsing tells us how a novice received his ordination (the ceremony

<sup>1</sup> *QJMS.*, XXIV. No. 3, pp. 218-223.

of Upasampadā). When once a novice got a knowledge of all religious rites pertaining to his religion and when he attained the requisite age, the religious teacher to whom he expressed his wish arranged the six requisities which are double cloak, upper and inner garments, bowl, a bed or something to lie upon and a water-strainer. As many as nine people participated in the ceremony. In the midst of the smoke raised by the burning of incense and in the midst of flowers, the novice was asked to pay his respect three times to each monk present. Sometimes he had to touch the feet of every priest present as a mark of respect. When this was over he was taught to repeat thrice the great precepts (mahāsīla). When this was done the teacher presented him the garments and the bowl in the company of the assembled monks. The novice then showed the bowl around and received their blessings. Then the ācārya who presided over the ceremony (*Karma*) administered once again the Great Precepts and this enabled him to become a Upasampanna. After this the date and the season in which he was ordained were recorded.

"Lastly, the contents of the *Prātimokṣa* were revealed to him. Then alone he could read the Larger Vinaya Pīṭaka which he read daily. In this way the novice spent five summers with his preceptor. But to become a full-fledged monk it took ten summers after taking to the Vinaya (I-tsing, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-104).

"The object of I-tsing's work was to correct the misrepresentations of the Vinaya rules, and to refute the erroneous opinions held by the schools of the Vinayadharas then existing in China." I tsing exclusively presented the Mūlasarvāstivāda school which was one of the four chief nikāyas prevalent in India. The Mahisāsaka and Dharmagupta schools are the two sub-divisions of the Mūlasarvāstivāda according to I-tsing. In Hiuen-tsang's time the Mūlasarvāstivāda had a wide following. This school which had a large number of adherents in Central and North India, belonged to the Hīnayāna, though it is not mentioned as such by our author.

At this time the Mahāyāna was largely prevalent in South India and Ceylon. It was the endeavour of I-tsing to bring in harmony between these two schools pointing out the facts common to both yānas. The chief difference between the yānas consisted in the worship of a *bodhi-sattva* peculiar to the Mahāyāna school. But some 18 schools which came into contact with the Mahāyāna adopted this custom and

propagated it. Thus, according to I-tsing, the differences between the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna were not profound and could be ignored (Takakusu: Intro., pp. xx-xxiii). In China it was the Mahāyāna school that was generally followed.

I-tsing came to India after the death of Harṣa to whom belongs the credit of reviving the Buddhist religion when it showed a tendency to decline, owing to lack of royal patronage. Though the keynote of Indian religion was toleration yet sufficient encouragement was not forthcoming to propagate this faith, which had developed into a number of schools founded by the great monks who were devout followers of the Buddha. The Buddha never thought that either his image or that of any of the Bodhisattvas would be worshipped. The religion and philosophy which the Buddhists of the old school taught broke up and different schools which perplexed a foreigner like I-tsing with its complexities came into existence. It was Harṣa who gave a new lease of life to Buddhism. Fortunately I-tsing visited this country immediately after. He placed his faith only in the Mūlasarvāstivāda school which alone appealed to him. He was able to collect a good number of manuscripts pertaining to his faith, took them home to China and translated most of them for the benefit of his countrymen.

### *Social Conditions*

It would be certainly interesting to know the social habits and customs which were observed by the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing during his visit to India. The Hindu society was even then divided into four varṇas generally called castes and four āśramas known ordinarily as orders. This was noticed by I-tsing during his stay at Nālandā University. He pays a tribute to the Brahmins who were regarded as the most honourable caste in all parts of India. He says: "They do not, when they meet in a place, associate with the other three castes and the mixed classes of the people have still less intercourse with them. The scriptures they revere are the four Vedas, containing about 100,000 verses". He further says that the Vedas were handed down from mouth to mouth and not transcribed on paper or leaves. According to I-tsing there always existed certain Brahmins intelligent enough to recite these 100,000 verses.

Mention is made as to how medicine<sup>2</sup> was administered in case of bodily illness. The symptoms of the disease were well studied and appropriate medicine was applied in each case. Though they strongly believed in past *Karma*, still the Indians never hesitated in averting a disease of the present life. I-tsing says that whenever a disease had befallen one, rest and careful attention were recommended. Even in giving medicine there were rules to be observed.

Incidentally I-tsing makes the remark that people in India are not accustomed to eat onions. They believe that onions of any kind "cause pain while taking a religious fast and injure the belly, besides spoiling the eye-sight and increasing disease and causing the body to become more and more weak. This is why Indians do not eat them. There is also a rule forbidding any treatment which would injure the patient in any way. Sometimes the dung of a calf and urine of a cow were used as medicine.

I-tsing refers to the simplicity of dress on the part of Indians. He also notes the eight precepts which were practised by them. The eight precepts were (1) not killing, (2) not stealing, (3) not committing adultery, (4) not telling a lie, (5) not drinking an intoxicating beverage, (6) neither taking pleasure in music nor wearing garlands and anointing with perfumes, (7) not using a high and wide couch and (8) not taking food at forbidden hours. Rules of decorum were observed and the foreigner and stranger were welcomed with courtesy and fed sumptuously. Their dinner was regulated by certain rules observed during eating and drinking (chaps. 31, 35, etc.)

Every Saṅghārāma had its own property belonging individually and jointly to the bhikṣus. When a bhikṣu died usually an enquiry was made whether he had left a will and if anyone nursed him, while ill. Enquiry was also made as regards his property and if there was any it was divided according to the law. Generally quadrupeds, elephants and horses, were offered to the royal household. Wooden chairs and others were made common property. Besides property owned by the individual priest there was also the common property of the Saṅgha, accumulated by benefactions through the ages. The common property of the Saṅgha was used for providing necessities of life for the members of the Saṅgha, such as clothing

and food though it was a practice in China not to get clothing from the common property of the Church.

To accumulate wealth and granaries and to provide a host of servants male and female was not looked upon as healthy in a monastery. The monk's only aim was to reach the path of final liberation (chaps. 33, 36 & 37). I-tsing's record contains these and other interesting accounts not only about the religious life but also about social and educational life.\*

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\* *Books Consulted*

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H. D. Sankalia: *The University of Nālandā*

R. N. Salatore: *Life in the Gupta Age*

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## The Mahābhāgavata-Purāṇa, a work of Bengal

This work<sup>1</sup> must be distinguished from the famous Vaiṣṇava Mahāpurāṇa called *Bhāgavata*, which also is sometimes called 'Mahā-

<sup>1</sup> The only printed edition of the *Mahābhāgavata* is that published by the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay, 1913.

For Mss. of this work see

(i) J. Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss.*, VI, pp. 1280-82, No. 3547 (written in Bengali script and consisting of 80 chapters).

(ii) Haraprasad Shastri, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, V, pp. 772-4, Nos. 4112-16. (All these Mss. are written in Bengali characters. Only the first two are dated Śaka 1697 and 1731 respectively).

(iii) Roth, *Tübingen Catalogue*, p. 15.

(iv) R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.* I, p. 203, No. 359 (incomplete; ending with a few verses of chapter 49; and written in Bengali script).

(v) Haraprasad Shastri, *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.*, III, pp. 142-3, No. 220 (written in Bengali characters, and dated Śaka 1734).

(vi) R. G. Bhandarkar, *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Mss. in the Bombay Presidency during the years 1887-88, 1888-89, 1889-90 and 1890-91* (hereinafter referred to as 'Bhandarkar, Report'), p. 12 (No. 166 complete).

(vii) Dacca University Mss. Nos. 936 (complete; consisting of 80 chapters; dated Śaka 1733), 1470 (complete; dated Śaka 1729), 3278 (complete), 3280 (incomplete), 3818 (complete; dated Śaka 1774), 4200 (complete; dated Śaka 1732), 4432 (incomplete), 4645 (incomplete), 4646 (complete; consisting of 80 chapters; dated Śaka 1740), 4714A (complete; dated Śaka 1708), 4791 (complete), D. R. 113 (complete).

All these Dacca University Mss. are written in Bengali script. Of these, three were discovered in Sylhet and the rest in Eastern Bengal.

In their colophons many of these Mss. claim to contain only the first part (prathama khaṇḍa) of the *Mahābhāgavata*, and this claim seems to be supported by the printed edition also (cf. chap. 81, verse 43—

*etāvad uktaṃ devena...../*

*khaṇḍe smin jaimine...../|*

But, as a matter of fact, the *Mahābhāgavata* consists of the first part only and does not contain any other part.

For Mss. of the Bhagavati-gītā belonging to the *Mahābhāgavata* see Haraprasad Shastri, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (hereinafter referred to as 'Shastri, *ASB Cat.*'), V, pp. 774-5, Nos. 4117-18; R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sans. Mss.* (hereinafter referred to as 'Mitra, *Notices*'), I, p. 249, No. 440; and Dacca University Mss. Nos. 160C, 169T, 331E, 326B, 1500, 1611, 1836 and 2078A.



bhāgavata' (i.e. 'the great *Bhāgavata*'<sup>2</sup>). It is an interesting Upapurāṇa dealing with the praise of Devī and her worship. Although it is a comparatively late work and is not mentioned in any of the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas except the *Bṛhad-dharma-purāṇa*<sup>3</sup>, it deserves to be studied for information about the contemporary state of Hindu religion and society in Bengal, especially in its eastern part which was adjacent to Kāmarūpa.

The printed edition of the *Mahābhāgavata* opens with four maṅgala ślokaś, of which the third contains a salutation to Devī and the fourth a benediction. According to these two verses Devī is the 'Ādyā Prakṛti' and is 'parā' and 'svargāpavargapradā'; she created the universe out of her own accord, subjected herself to births, and had Śambhu as her husband; and Śambhu, in his turn, had Devī as his wife through severe austerities and held her foot on his bosom.

Regarding the origin of the *Mahābhāgavata* and its introduction on earth it is said in chap. 1 that at the request of Śaunaka and others in the Naimiṣa forest to describe some 'Purāṇa' on the glory of Devī, Sūta spoke of the 'most secret Purāṇa named '*Mahābhāgavata*' which was first declared by Mahēśa to Nārada and then by Vyāsa to Jaimini. Sūta said that being unable to attain mental satisfaction even after writing 'the eighteen Purāṇas' Vyāsa wanted to become the author of a 'Mahāpurāṇa' that would deal elaborately with the praise of Bhagavatī. Consequently, he went to the Himālaya for realising the true nature of Devī by means of austerities.

2 For instance, see *Samvatsara-pradīpa* (Dacca Univ. Ms. No. 4632), fol. 41a-b—

skānde-.....mahābhāgavatākhyasya sa cāṇḍālasamo mataḥ|'  
mahābhāgavatākhyasya mahābhāgavata-purāṇasya| aṭa-etaḍ-doṣa-pari-  
hārāya bhāgavata-purāṇasya katicit ślokaṁ likhyante| tad yathā—  
'yaṁ brahma vedavido vadanti param pradhānam puruṣaṁ tathānye|  
viśvodgeṭeḥ kāraṇam īśvaram vā tasmai namo viḥṇa-vināyakāya|'

*Kāvya-saṁgraha* (of Rājajivana De Dāsa, Dacca Univ. Ms. No. 4321, dated 1655 Saka), fol. 10b—*atha śrīmadbhāgavata* (? 'te) katicit ślokaṁ—janmādyasya yato'nvayād itarataś cārtheṣu abhijñāḥ svarāt| etc. etc. (= *Bhāgavata*, p. I. 1. 1, 3. etc.; X. 14. 28 etc.; X. 4. 39 f.; and so on).

3 *Bṛhad-dharma-p.* (hereinafter abbreviated to *Bṛhadhb.*), ed. Asiatic Society of Bengal, I. 25. 20. The reading '*nṛsimhaṁ ca tataḥ param*' of the Vaṅgavāsi Press (Calcutta) edition of the *Bṛhad-dharma-p.* (for '*mahābhāgavatam tathā*' of the ASB. ed.) is erroneous.

The *Bṛhadhb.* includes the *Mahābhāgavata* among the 'Mahat Purāṇas.

But being directed by Devī's voice from the air, Vyāsa went over to Brahma-loka where he was told by the four Vedas that it was Bhagavatī Durgā herself who was 'Parama Brahma.' Being eulogised by these Vedas Devī appeared in person before Vyāsa. In order to convince Vyāsa of her own identity with Supreme Brahma, Devī assumed various forms such as those of a thousand-armed female deity mounted on a lion and furnished with divine weapons, a dark-complexioned and four-armed goddess standing on a corpse (śava-vāhanā), female deities having two, four, ten, eighteen, one hundred or innumerable hands, Viṣṇu-and-Kamalā, Kṛṣṇa-and-Rādhā, Brahmā-and-Vāṇī, Śiva-and-Gaurī, and so on. She then revealed to Vyāsa the Purāṇa named *Mahābhāgavata*, which Vyāsa found recorded on the thousand petals of the lotus lying under her feet. Thus, Sūta said, the *Mahābhāgavata* was revealed to Vyāsa.

In the remaining chapters Sūta is found to reproduce the interlocation between Mahādeva and Nārada on the glory of Durgā in the same way as it was reported by Vyāsa to Jainini. The contents of these chapters include the following :—

Story of Devī's birth as Satī (having eight hands and a fair complexion<sup>4</sup>), her marriage with Śiva, her assumption first of an extremely dreadful form and then of those of the ten Mahāvidyās, and her creation, from her own self, of a shadow called Chāyā-kālī, as a result of whose entrance into the sacrificial fire of Dakṣa Vīrabhadra destroyed Dakṣa's sacrifice and replaced Dakṣa's head with that of a he-goat; origin of fifty-one Mahā-piṭhas from the limbs of Chāyā-satī created by Satī from herself; praise of Kāmarūpa as the best of these Piṭhas; reference to the abduction of Chāyā-sītā by Rāvaṇa; story of Devī's birth as Pārvatī and her marriage with Śiva; discourse on Brahma-vijñāna; story of Devī's birth as Gaṅgā, and the latter's liquefaction and descent on earth; praise of the river Gaṅgā; story of the origin of the river Padmā; story of the introduction of the custom of untimely worshipping Durgā annually during the autumn season; and a summary of the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* from Rāma's killing of Tāḍakā to his fateful war with Rāvaṇa. [This summary contains innovations, which are as follows :—

4 Chap. 4, verses 24-25—

.....*gaurāṅgīm*.....

*aṣṭābbhir bāhu-vallibhir bhrājamānām*...../

(a) Rāma started on his exile on the Śukla-daśamī Tithi of the month of Āśvina and remembered Devī at the time of starting.—Chap. 38, verses 20-21.

(b) Devī left Laṅkā as soon as Hanumān (who was none but Śiva himself) went there in search of Sītā and saw Devī in her temple.—Chap. 39, verses 18-29.

(c) The construction of the bridge to Laṅkā was begun on Śrāvaṇa-paurṇamāsī.—Chap. 40, verse 6.

(d) Before starting war against Ravaṇa, Rāma pleased Devī by performing Pārvaṇa-śrāddha.—Chap. 40, verses 12-21.

(e) Finding that Rāma was terrified by the news of Kumbhakarṇa's approach to the battlefield, Brahmā advised him to worship Durgā and spoke of her glory. He narrated how in ancient times Śiva tore away one of his five heads and how, being approached for redress, Devī furnished him with the fifth head and told him that it was she who thus punished him for having a strong desire for sexual union with his own daughter Saṃdhyā. Brahmā assured Rāma that Devī forsook Rāvaṇa because that demon abducted, with an evil purpose, Sītā who was his own *kṣetraja* daughter born of Mandodarī<sup>5</sup>. He wanted to invoke Devī, though untimely, for the sake of Rāma and spoke of Devī's Vaidikī, Paurāṇikī and Tāntrikī Mūrtis as well as of the different regions, viz., Śiva-loka, Viṣṇu-loka (placed above Śiva-loka), Gaurī-loka (which is situated on the left side of Śiva-loka and in which there is Devī's 'daśa-bhujā vaidikī mūrti'), Goloka (in which Kṛṣṇa sports with Rādhā), and the region of Mahādurgā (which occupies the highest position and lies beyond the Brahmāṇḍa and in which there is Devī's Tāntrikī Mūrti). Brahmā gave a long description of this last-mentioned region and said that Rādhā was an infinitesimally small part of Mahādurgā.<sup>6</sup> Brahmā described Mahādurgā's Tāntrikī Mūrti as follows:—She has four hands, wears red clothes, and mounts a big lion; on her left side stand Jayā and Vāṇī, and on her right there are Vijayā and Lakṣmī; she does not recognise any distinction of caste or position

5 *Mahābhāṣya*, 42. 64—

*sītā mandodarī-garbhe saṃbhūtā cāru-rūpiṇī/  
kṣetraja tanayāpy asya rāvanasya ragbhūttama||*

6 *Mahābhāṣya*, 43. 26—

*yat-kalā-kotī-koty-amśā rādhā kṛṣṇasya gebinī|*

but favours those who are devoted to her.<sup>7</sup> Intending to invoke Devī in a Bilva tree on the Kṛṣṇa-navamī Tithi and to worship her by constructing an earthen image of her Paurāṇikī Mūrti which is furnished with ten hands and mounted on a lion, Brahmā took Rāma to a Bilva tree on the sea-shore.—Chaps. 41-43.

(f) Rāma approached the Bilva tree and eulogised Devī, and the latter assured him with a voice from the air that he would attain victory over the Rākṣasas.—Chap. 44, verses 1-20.

(g) While Rāma was fighting with Kumbhakarna on the Kṛṣṇa-navamī Tithi, Brahmā invoked Devī in a Bilva tree by citing the Devī-sūkta as well as Mantras containing Tāntric symbols, and continued to worship her daily for Rāma's victory.—Chap. 45, verses 1-25.

(h) Devī's description of the method of her own worship in an earthen image during the three days from Śukla-saptamī to Śukla-navamī with the performance of Patrikā-praveśa, Saṃdhi-pūjā, Paśu-bali (sacrifice of animals), Śatru-bali<sup>8</sup> (sacrifice of enemies, on the Navamī Tithi) etc. ; and the immersion of the image in a current of water on the Daśamī Tithi with great merriment (sumahotsava).—Chap. 45, verses 26-36.

(i) Devī's praise of the annual worship of herself in the above-mentioned manner ; and her description of sāttvika, rājasa and tāmasa worship.—Chap. 46.

(j) Rāma worshipped Devī in an earthen image on the Saptamī, Mahāṣṭamī and Mahānavamī Tithis after performing her *adhiṇvāsa* (in the evening of the Śukla-ṣaṣṭhī Tithi) and *patri-praveśa* (on the Saptamī Tithi), immersed the image in the sea on the Daśamī Tithi, and killed Rāvaṇa with a missile received from Devī.—Chaps. 47-48.]

An analysis of the contents of the *Mahābhāgavata* shows that it advocates Śāktism. According to this work, it is Kālī who is Parama Brahma as well as Parā Prakṛti ( or Mula-prakṛti ). Though 'saccidānanda-vigrahā', 'śuddhajñānamayī', 'nityā' and 'arūpā', Kālī, as Prakṛti, assumed, for creation, the form of a young and beautiful female seated on a lion and having a collyrium-dark com-

7 For detailed description of Devī's Tāntrikī Mūrti see *Mahābhāg.*, 43. 65-86.

8 *Mahābhāg.*, 45. 33—

*tataḥ śatruṃ baliṃ dadyāt kṛtvā piṣṭamayāṃ mama.*

plexion, four hands, red eyes, dishevelled hair, and the quarters as her clothes (dig-ambarā). She created a Puruṣa as an embodiment of the three *guṇas* and contaminated into him a wish for creation. From the three *guṇas*, viz., *rajas*, *sattva* and *tamas*, of this Puruṣa were born Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva respectively. Prakṛti, on her part, divided herself into Māyā, Vidyā and Paramā, and became Satī, Gaṅgā, Durgā, Sāvitrī, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī and others.

Unlike the present *Kālikā-p.* and the *Brhaddharma-p.* the *Mahābhāgavata* conceives Kālī as the wife and Śakti of Śiva.<sup>9</sup> It identifies Śiva with Puruṣa and says that Brahma consists of Śiva and his Śakti.<sup>10</sup> It regards Kāśī and Kailāsa as the best holy places on the earth and heaven respectively and remarks that Vaikuṇṭha and Brahma-loka do not deserve comparison even with a small part of Śiva-loka.<sup>11</sup> It introduces several stories for establishing Śiva's superiority over other gods, especially over Viṣṇu. It praises Śiva-worship thus: "In the Kali age there is no work like Śiva-worship. A man, whether he is a Śākta, a Vaiṣṇava or a Śaiva, should worship Śaṅkara first of all and then his own tutelary deity with a feeling of reverence. At first one should worship a liṅga with Bilva-leaves; otherwise all (his efforts), being bereft of Śiva-worship, will be like those of Śudras"<sup>12</sup>. From this praise of Śiva and from the nature of some of the stories<sup>13</sup> it is evident that the Śaiva-śāktas had the Vaiṣṇavas and the Vaiṣṇava-śāktas as their most powerful rivals and tried hard to popularise their own ideas especially against those of the latter. But in spite of its outspoken inclination towards Śiva, the *Mahābhāgavata* follows the Vedānta in advocating the unity of all gods.<sup>14</sup>

The *Mahābhāgavata* was written in Bengal, most probably in

9 *Mahābhāg.*, 15. 16—

*jānibhi māṃ parāṃ śaktiṃ mahāśvara-kṛtāśrayāṃ/  
śāśvataśvarya-vijñāna-mūrtiṃ sarva-pravartukāṃ//*

10 *Ibid.*, 18. 14—

*śivaḥ pradbhāṇaḥ puruṣaḥ śaktiś ca paramā śivā/  
śiva-śakty-ātmakaṃ brahma \* \* \* \**

11 *Ibid.*, 5. 12-15.

12 *Ibid.*, 81. 13-14. See also *Mahābhāg.*, 81. 32-34.

13 Viz., those of Gaṇeśa (who was Nārāyaṇa reborn—chap. 35) and of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā (who were the same as Kālī and Śiva respectively—chaps. 49-58).

14 *Mahābhāg.*, 7. 63-64; 10. 42 and 64; and so on.

its eastern part which was adjacent to Kāmarūpa, as the following evidences indicate.

(i) The *Mahābhāgavata* devotes a few chapters to the praise of Kāmarūpa which is called the best of the 'fifty-one' Mahāpīṭhas created by the fall of Sati's limbs (see specially chaps. 11-12 and 76-78).

(ii) According to this work Gaṅgā, when following Bhagīratha, intended to visit Kāmākhya but gave up her project as she chanced to displease the sage Jahnu at the very beginning of her advance eastwards. This shows that the author of the *Mahābhāgavata* had a special attraction for Kāmarūpa and wanted to add to it the same sanctity as is generally attached to those parts of the country which are watered by the Ganges.

(iii) The accounts of the Bhāgīrathī and the Padmā, as given in chaps. 69-70, show that the author of the *Mahābhāgavata* was quite familiar with these rivers and regarded both of them as sacred.

(iv) In the *Mahābhāgavata* the autumnal worship of Durgā has been connected with the story of Rāma (son of Daśaratha). The method of Durgā-worship, as described in this work, includes the following operations:—*bodhana* of Devī in a Bilva tree; special worship of Devī for three days (viz., Saptamī, Aṣṭamī, and Navamī Tithis) in an earthen image after performing Devī's *adhivāsa* in the evening of the Śukla-ṣaṣṭhī Tithi; performance of *patrikā-praveśa* on the Saptamī Tithi and of *śatru-bali* on the Navamī Tithi; and the immersion of the image on the Daśamī Tithi with great merriment (*sumahotsava*).<sup>15</sup> It is to be noted that the custom of *śatru-bali* (in which an image of the enemy is constructed with powdered rice and sacrificed before Devī on the Navamī Tithi) is still surviving in some parts of Eastern Bengal.

(v) In the *Mahābhāgavata* there are some words and expressions which are clearly based on their parallels in Bengali, viz.,

(a) \* \* \* *garvaṃ tvam āśu paricūrṇaya* (9. 59a);

(b) ā+√kṣip used in the sense of 'lamenting'—\* \* \*

<sup>15</sup> The word 'sumahotsava,' occurring in *Mahābhāg.* 45. 35-36, may mean the famous Śavarotsava mentioned in the Nibandhas of Bengal.

śambhuḥ \* ruroda ha / patnīm ākṣīpya bahudhā satīm prākṛta-lokavat// (12. 4);

(c) sati tvaṃ mama bhāryeti loka-lajjāṃ parityajan / mūrdhnā vahāmi te chāyām \* \* \* // (11. 61);

(d) 'u mā !' (used by females in expressing astonishment—cf. the Bengali expression 'ও মা !' uttered by women in modern Bengal) —u meti vismitā prāha \* \* \* (21. 59);

(e) peculiar use of the word 'nikāṭa'—drutam āgacchata surā brahmaṇo nikāṭaṃ tataḥ (13. 50); nātra yāsyati vai kaścij janas tvannikāṭe prabho (21. 26); (for the use of this word see also Mahābhāg. 20. 15; 21. 10; 22. 5 and 44; 24. 4 and 50; 25. 30; 29. 18; and 33. 10);

(f) kuputri duścāritrā tvaṃ cakṣuṣor me bahir bhava (9. 73b); sā tvaṃ me cakṣuṣor bāhyaṃ śighraṃ bhava durātmike (9. 76b); ahaṃ te cakṣuṣor bāhyaṃ bhaviṣyāmi na kevalam (9. 81a);

(g) apakarma svayaṃ kṛtvā paraṃ dūṣayate kudhīḥ (8. 43b);

(h) vācaṃ niyaccha kalyāṇaṃ yadicchasi sudurmate /  
chinde jīhvām mahāmūrkhā \* \* \* // (9. 65b-66a);

(i) use of Locative in place of Ablative—śrutvā tava mukhāmbhoje kathāṃ \* \* \* (2. 3a).

(vi) That part of the country which is watered by the Ganges has been praised in Mahābhāg. 74. 30f. as follows: "One, who leaves the banks of the Ganges and resides elsewhere, searches for hell by setting aside final emancipation lying in his hand. Blessed is that land in which there is the Ganges that sanctifies the three worlds. No country deserves to be called as such, if it is bereft of the Ganges. One should prefer begging and death on the banks of the Ganges to royalty elsewhere. \* \* \* \* \*". In another place the Mahābhāgavata says, "A sacrifice without Śiva is just like a country without the Ganges" (7. 61).

(vii) Almost all of the numerous Mss. of the Mahābhāgavata, hitherto discovered, were found in Bengal, mostly in its eastern part, and are written in Bengali script.

(viii) So far as we have been able to find, it is only the authors of Bengal who refer to or draw upon the Mahābhāgavata (for these references see below).

(ix) Independent Mss of the Navagraha-kavaca, Bhagavatī-gītā, Śiva-sahasra-nāma-stotra, Kāmākhyā-kavaca etc., claiming to be parts of the *Mahābhāgavata*, are found scattered all over Bengal, mostly in its eastern parts. Some of these Mss. have been collected by the Dacca University and the Asiatic Society of Bengal.<sup>16</sup>

The above evidences are perhaps sufficient to show that the *Mahābhāgavata* is a work of Bengal and most probably of its eastern part which was adjacent to Kāmarūpa.

The *Mahābhāgavata* calls itself 'Purāṇa'<sup>17</sup> as well as 'Mahāpurāṇa'<sup>18</sup> but never 'Upapurāṇa', and this claim has been supported by the *Bṛhaddharma-p.* which includes its name among those of the eighteen 'Mahat Purāṇas'.<sup>19</sup> Yet it must not be taken to be an early work. It knows the names of rāsis and week-days, and mentions the Tulasī plant as well as Rādhā, the beloved of Kṛṣṇa. Its comparatively late date is further evidenced by the fact that it is not mentioned in any of the Purāṇic works except the *Bṛhaddharma-p.*, which cannot be dated earlier than the thirteenth century A. D. However, the *Mahābhāgavata* is certainly not a very modern work. In his *Report*, p. 12 R. G. Bhandarkar mentions a complete Ms. of the *Mahābhāgavata* which he found in the Bombay Presidency. In the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal there is a Ms. of the *Mahābhāgavata* which is dated Śaka 1697.<sup>20</sup> Śrī-tīrtha-svāmin, who was most probably a court-poet of Mahārāja Kṛṣṇa-candra of Nadia (Bengal), wrote a philosophical treatise entitled *Yathārtha-mañjarī* in the middle of the eighteenth century. In this work<sup>21</sup> he ascribes to the '*Mahābhāgavata*' three lines 'jñānāt

<sup>16</sup> See Shastri, *ASB. Cat.*, V, pp. 774-5, Nos. 4117-18; Dacca Univ. Mss. Nos. 645B (found in Rangpur), 645C (found in Rangpur), 526P (found in Bogra), and so on.

<sup>17</sup> See *Mahābhāg.*, chap 1, verses 6, 8, 13, 49, 51 and so on.

<sup>18</sup> *Mahābhāg.*, 1. 16. See also the chapter-colophons.

<sup>19</sup> *Bṛhaddh.* (ASB. ed) I. 25. 20. For the texts of those verses of the *Bṛhaddharma-p.* which contain the names of the eighteen 'Mahat Purāṇas,' see *Bṛhaddharma-p.* (ed. Vāṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta), I. 25. 23-26.

<sup>20</sup> Shastri, *ASB. Cat.*, V, p. 772, No. 4112.

<sup>21</sup> Dacca Univ. Ms. No. 4093, fol. 11b. (This is a complete Ms. written in



saṃjāyate muktiḥ' etc. which are the same as *Mahābhāg.* 15. 63b-64. In the introductory portion of his *Sārādā-maṅgala-kāvya* Śiva-candra Sena, who lived a little later than Bhārata-candra (a vernacular poet of Bengal), refers to the '*Mahābhāgavata*' as describing the autumnal worship of Durgā<sup>22</sup>. In the Dacca University collection there is a Ms. (No. 1470) of the *Mahābhāgavata* which is dated 1729 Śaka and which, in its last leaf, contains a *saṅkalpa-mantra* for the study of the *Mahābhāgavata*<sup>23</sup>. In this collection there is another Ms. (No. 4150) which contains a metrical Bengali translation of the Bhagavatī-gītā constituting chaps. 15-19 of the *Mahābhāgavata*. We have already said that independent Mss. of the Bhagavatī-gītā, Śiva-sahasra-nāma-stotra, Nava-graha-kavaca, Kāmākhyā-kavaca etc., claiming to be parts of the *Mahābhāgavata*, are found in all parts of Bengal. These evidences are perhaps sufficient to show that the *Mahābhāgavata* became a highly popular work and was widely studied as an authoritative Purāṇa a few centuries ago. It has already been mentioned that the *Bṛhaddharma-p.* has included the name of the *Mahābhāgavata* in its list of eighteen 'Mahat Purāṇas'. That the *Mahābhāgavata* mentioned in the *Bṛhaddharma-p.* is the same as the extant one, is shown definitely by the fact that the author of the *Bṛhaddharma-p.* has not only derived many of his stories from the present *Mahābhāgavata*<sup>24</sup> but has plagiarised a large number of verses from

Bengali script and dated Śaka 1734. Its colophon runs as follows:—

इति श्रीलश्रीतीर्थस्वामिकृतयथार्थमञ्जरी समाप्ता )

22 *Sārādā-maṅgala-kāvya* (Dacca Univ. Ms. No. 3099):—

मार्कण्डेयपुराण आर देवीपुराणेते । अशेष प्रमाण आच्छे महाभागवते ॥

शरत कालेते पूजा प्रकाश से मते ॥

23 The text of this *saṅkalpa-mantra*, which abounds in mistakes, runs as follows:—

viṣṇur nnaṃo'dyetyādi amuka-gotraḥ śrī-amuka-dāsaḥ śrīmaḥ-jagad-ambikā-bhagavatī-durgā-devyāḥ priu-kāmaḥ sūta-śaunaka-maharṣi-vedavyāsa-jaimini-saṃprokta yām ārādhyā vrinīcīr ityādi iti śrīmahābhāgavate mahāpurāṇe śiva-nārada-saṃvāde prathama-khaṇḍa-samāptiṃ nnāmaikāśītītamo 'dhyāyāḥ samāpta ity-antam yathā-jñānataḥ mahābhāgavata-mahāpurāṇasya yathā-kāla-śravaṇam ahaṃ karīṣye.

24 Compare, for instance, the chapters on the origin of creation, stories of Sati and Gaṅgā and Rāma's autumnal worship of Durgā, as occurring in the two works.

the latter<sup>25</sup>. As a matter of fact, a comparison between these two Upa-purāṇas shows that the author of the *Bṛhaddharma-p.* thoroughly utilised the language and contents of the *Mahābhāgavata* in his work. Hence the *Mahābhāgavata* must have preceded the *Bṛhaddharma-p.* by a fairly long time, otherwise it could not be regarded as an authoritative 'Mahat Purāṇa' by the author of the latter. As the *Bṛhaddharma-p.* was composed not later than the middle of the fourteenth century A.D., the *Mahābhāgavata* cannot be dated later than the twelfth century A.D. Its Śaiva tendency like that of the earlier *Kālikā-p.* and its silence about the present *Kālikā-p.* which is remarkably inclined towards Vaiṣṇavism, tend to show that it was written about the tenth or eleventh century A.D.

In describing the state of society during the Kali age the *Mahābhāgavata* (81. 8a) says, "kara-graha-ratā nityaṇi rājāno mleccha-rūpiṇaḥ". But this mention of kings as Mlecchas must not be taken to mean that at the time of composition of the *Mahābhāgavata* Bengal came under the sway of the Muhammadans; because the *Bṛhaddharma-p.*, which the *Mahābhāgavata* preceded by a fairly long time, was composed not much later than the advent of the Muhammadans in Bengal. It is probable that the author of the *Mahābhāgavata* used the expression 'rājāno mleccha-rūpiṇaḥ' only to characterise the kings of the Kali age as being regardless of all moral laws like Mlecchas. Or, it may be that this generalisation was based on the introduction of Muhammadan rule in other provinces outside Bengal.

<sup>25</sup> The verses, which are common to these two works, are the following:—

<i>Mahābhāg.</i>	<i>Bṛhaddh.</i> (Vaiṅavāsi Press ed.)	<i>Mahābhāg.</i>	<i>Bṛhaddh.</i> (Vaiṅavāsi Press ed.)
3. 26a	= II. 1. 56b.	5. 36a	= II. 5. 25b.
3. 42a	—cf. II. 1. 21b.	5. 37a	= II. 5. 26b
3. 45b	= II. 1. 25b.	5. 37b	= II. 5. 27b.
3. 46a	—cf. II. 1. 26a.	5. 38b	= II. 5. 28a.
3. 58	= II. 2. 16b-17a.	5. 46-47	—cf. II. 5. 32-33
3. 61-63	= II. 2. 19 and 21-22.	7. 21b-23a	—cf. II. 6. 2-3.
		7. 24b-25a	—cf. II. 6. 4.
3. 64b-65a	= II. 2. 25a-b.	7. 40b-41a	= II. 6. 10.
4. 48a	—cf. II. 3. 22b.	7. 43	= II. 6. 11.
5. 25-28	—cf. II. 5. 17-20.	7. 46b	= II. 6. 12b.
5. 29-34a	= II. 5. 21-25a.	&c.	&c.

A study of the *Mahābhāgavata* shows that the author of this work lived in a society in which the most powerful sects were those of the Śaivas, Śāktas, Vaiṣṇavas and Sauras<sup>26</sup>, and which was strongly influenced by Tantricism. People performed Śaṭ-karma (the six acts, viz., Vaśīkaraṇa, Māraṇa, Uccāṭana etc.), studied the Āgamas, and followed Tāntric manners, customs and methods of worship<sup>27</sup>. Even in their conception of the forms of deities they were often guided by the Tantras<sup>28</sup>. So, the author of the *Mahābhāgavata* praised Varṇāśrama-dharma and prescribed the study of Vedānta<sup>29</sup>. He did not decry Tāntricism but tried to bring about a compromise between the two systems by making Devī say, "O Śaṅkara, the Āgama and the Veda are my two hands with which I sustain the whole universe consisting of stationary and moving objects. If, out of ignorance, anybody violates (the directions of) these two, he is sure to slip down from my hands. ... It is true and undoubted that I am unable to deliver that person who worships (me) by violating (the directions of) the Āgama and the Veda. A wise man should practise Dharma by taking these two as the same. ... Those, who worship these (forms of mine), are considered as Vaiṣṇavas in the assembly. ... We have already noted the Śaiva tendency of Śāktism advocated by the *Mahābhāgavata*. But in spite of its high praise of Śiva the *Mahābhāgavata* follows Vedānta in establishing the unity of all gods<sup>31</sup>.

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26 For mention of the Sauras see *Mahābhāg.*, 67. 61.

27 *Mahābhāg.* 8. 72 ff. For Tāntric *mantras* used in Durgā-worship, see chaps. 44-45. Kāmākhyā was worshipped according to the Tāntric method (12. 37).

28 See chap. 43, in which there is mention of Devī's Purāṇic and Tāntric forms.

29 *Mahābhāg.*, 15. 61-64 and 68.

30 *Ibid.*, 8. 77-82.

31 *Ibid.*, 7. 63-64; 10. 42 and 64; and so on.

## The Apabhraṃśa Lyrics in the Vernaculars

In his *History of Sanskrit literature* Keith observed "Contemporaneously with the progress of the Sanskrit lyric, there was proceeding the development of a lyric in Prākṛt, which later passed into Apabhraṃśa probably as a result of the achievement of the *Ābbiras and the Gurjaras*" (p. 223). The above remark of Keith does but point to two important phenomena. First, it is known that the Apabhraṃśa (abbr. Ap.) lyrics are exactly of the same nature as the Prākṛt (Pkt.) lyric poems and treat of the same themes. Secondly, one comes to learn from the same that the Pkt. lyric stanzas were simultaneously composed with the Sanskrit (Skt.) poems, though their authors were obviously different from the composers of the artificial Skt. poetry. The Pkt. verses, as Keith has clearly pointed out, are quite distinct in character from the Skt. lyric poems and they reflect a society at their background, which contrasts glaringly with the more popular and familiar one, motivating the Skt. poems. These stanzas, a collection of which appears in the *Sattasāi* of Sātavāhana Hāla, are believed to be real popular poems and the simple and unostentatious life of the rustic common folk forms the chief theme of most of these stanzas. Such being the fact, we find in the *Sattasāi* the most fervid expression of the real feelings and emotions of the unsophisticated persons of the rural areas and a faithful delineation of their love, joys, sorrows, hopes, desires, longings and aspirations. This closeness to life and common realities, which characterises the Pkt. verses, is chiefly responsible for the uncommon individuality and distinctiveness from the widely-known Skt. poems.

But that these stanzas were real folk poems or poems cultivated by the uneducated naive people has been seriously called into question by the scholars. Winternitz in his *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur* (vol. III, pp. 97-98) has expressed such a view that as the Pkt. dialect was no real popular speech, but a literary dialect fashioned in imitation of the latter, so these Pkt. songs too, were no real folk-poems in the true sense of the term, but were artificial versifications, composed after the

pattern of the popular poems by the poets of the ornate Skt. poetry. So the Pkt. poems are extremely conventional like those of Skt. and any attempt to see into them the expression of some aspects of real popular life should be outright discouraged. Keith too endorsed the same view and took the Pkt. stanzas of the *Sattasāi* as artificial compositions. But that they expressed the ways of life of the common rustic people and delineated their unreserved feelings and sentiments has been emphasized by him in spite of their being so many artificial versifications. It should be pointed out here that neither Keith nor Winternitz advanced any evidence, which may prove their statements to be true. Now, a question may be quite legitimately raised as to why these Pkt. stanzas may not be real folk-poems and if these are artificial compositions in imitation of the real folk-poems, where Winternitz and Keith found the specimens of the latter, which could warrant such a conclusion. The fact seems to be otherwise to us, though we admit that the above remarks of Winternitz and Keith contain some amount of truth in them.

It is surely a fact that a large number of Pkt. stanzas—stray poems or verses contained in some anthologies—are real folk-poems. It cannot be denied that the common-folk have been cultivating this kind of poetry from the olden days even down to the present. The vernacular folk-poetry of the present days bears an unmistakable testimony to the fact. Some of the verses quoted in the Pkt. grammar of Hemacandra and also many Ap. stanzas in the *Prākṛita-paiṅgala* (abbr. PP.) boldly speak of their real popular character. If there be some truth in the statement of Hāla, who collected 700 Pkt-verses from a crore ('Koḍia majjhaarmmi' verse 3. *Sattasāi*) it is possible for us to assume that the number of Pkt. stanzas, which were probably orally maintained but not recorded in literature was countless and they exceeded by far the artificial poems of seemingly identical nature. It follows from the statement of Winternitz too that the cultivation of the popular poems was not certainly an uncommon phenomenon—rather a common practice in those ancient days. If the Pkt. poems of the *Sattasāi* were artificial compositions in imitation of the real folk-poems, they certainly presuppose the existence of the latter, otherwise the artists could not have found the models for imitation. But it is not totally impossible that some poets of artificial Skt. poetry might have been captivated by the artless beauty

and naive simplicity of these stanzas and have tried their hands at such verses, as a result of which some artificial poems in imitation of those folk-poetry might have evolved. It needs mention that due to innate skill of the imitators and their ingenuity in the art of poetry the artificial poems seemed to have attained the natural excellences of the original, and it is extremely difficult, if not totally impossible to distinguish the latter from the former. But such a practice was not certainly universally encouraged as the Skt. scholars were by nature averse to the study of Pkt. But it may be presumed that they might have composed such stanzas in Skt., which were in imitation of beautiful Pkt. lyric verses and as such the influence of Pkt. lyric poetry upon Skt. is not totally an impossible phenomenon. The *Āryā-saptaśatī* of Govardhana, in which deliberate attempts have been made to imitate the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* will be a clear evidence in support of our statement.

The transition of the Ap. folk-poems in the vernaculars occurred exactly in the same manner, by which the Pkt. folk-verses were transformed into Apabhramśas. It needs mention here that the history of transition of the Pkt. folk-verses is inseparably connected with the development of the Pkt. speeches, and a right knowledge of the transformation of the Pkt. stanzas into Aps. and therefrom to the vernaculars, cannot be had, until one has made a correct estimate of the development of the Aryan speech in the subsequent period. We like to mention here that we accept Grierson's theory of development of the Aryan speech in broad principles and incidentally mention that Grierson's definition of Ap. as we have shown elsewhere, is in no way different from that of Jacobi, though followers of both have drawn swords against each other in refutation of the views of their opponents and justification of their own.

Now, let us describe in brief outline the development of the Aryan speech from the stage of the secondary Pkts. to downwards, in perspective of which we are going to consider our problem. The language of the lyric stanzas, as we find in the *Sattasāi* and many Skt. rhetorical works, is chiefly, Māhārāṣṭrī (Māh.), which along with the Śaurasenī (Śaur.) and the Māgadhī (Māg.) dialects represent the second stage of the MIA. These dialects were all literary speeches and they were based upon the actual spoken idioms of the people, connected with the different units of geographical areas. These

literary dialects, as many others of this nature, were characterised by rigidity, and fixation of forms by grammatical rules are wholly static. But, the living speeches, upon which these were based, were dynamic and subject to constant modifications. When the spoken idioms corresponding to these literary Pkts. greatly deviated from the latter and showed some remarkable developments, they were considered to have reached a different stage in the course of evolution of the great Aryan speech, and fit to be called by different names. These latter idioms were called Aps. and they were raised to literary speeches exactly in the same manner, by which the Pkts. were literarised from the spoken tongues. As there were Māh., Śaur., Ardha-Māg. and the Māg. Pkts., so there were correspondingly Māh. Ap., Śaur. Ap., Ardha-Māg. Ap. and the Māg. Aps. As the Śaur. Pkt. based on the dialect of the Midland and the Gangetic Doab, was most popular by dint of its consanguinity to Skt., so was Śaur. Ap. It got predominance over the other Aps. and was used for literary purposes even in those areas, where some different kinds of Aps. were used to be spoken. These Aps. too, which were given literary forms, got fixation with the definite rules of grammar and ceased to grow as literary speeches. But, as vernaculars they certainly changed and developed to so many modern Aryan dialects. As there were Aps. corresponding to different kinds of Pkts., so there were various New Indo-Aryan speeches corresponding to those varying Aps. It is to be noted that Hindī, Rājasthānī, and Gujarātī are connected with the Śaur. Ap., Bihārī, Bengali, Assamese and Oriyā with the Māg. Ap., Eastern Hindī with the Ārdha-Māg. Ap. and Marāṭhī with Māh.-Ap. In this manner other MIA. dialects too, which are not being specially mentioned here, are to be connected with some kinds of Aps. It is a fact that the transformation of the Pkt. lyrics to Aps. and therefrom to the modern vernaculars, is to be understood against the background of the above development of the Pkt. speeches, for which the scholastic world remains grateful to Pischel and Grierson.

The folk-poems, which grew out of the life of the common people were usually short-lived. But there were some, which survived through centuries and on account of their longer existence they traditionally continued from generation to generation. In this way they were handed down from the past to the present without undergoing any break at any time. There cannot be any doubt regarding the oral

preservation of the folk-poems, as the crore of folk-stanzas from which Hāla collected only 700 for recording in literature existed nowhere, save and except in the memory of the common folk. As these were current in the mouths of the people, the language of these countless folk-poems was the spoken dialect of the common people, which was natural and not distorted by any motive of embellishment and polish. But, whenever any attempt has been made to embody them in the anthologies or, preserve in a collection, the language of such stanzas must have been, to a certain extent, modified, as such a change was demanded by the literarisation of a spoken tongue. It certainly happened with the stanzas of Hāla too. It is testified by the fact that due to literarisation of the spoken dialect of the common unsophisticated people, the indigenous vocables i.e. Deśi words both nouns and verbs (Deśi and Dhātvaḍeśa) have crept abundantly into the literary Māh. of the *Sattasāi*. A considerable number of these vocables have been preserved in the modern Aryan vernaculars, as Weber has clearly pointed out and we too have referred to in a different article. Now, when there was the change of the spoken speeches from Pkts. to different Aps., the Pkt. folk poems, which were orally preserved, gradually absorbed the modifications of the latter. Such modifications did not affect them too much, as the changes, which were evidenced in the various spoken Pkt. dialects and which reduced the latter to the Ap. speeches, was mainly phonological. It should be clearly pointed out here that as in Aps. there was a gradual process of reduction of the final syllable of the vocables, the phonetic modifications were noticed only in the inflexions and usually in the basic stems. As such the change of the Pkt. folk poems to Ap. ones occurred by a process of evolution and it happened quite imperceptibly without definite knowledge of those, in whose mouths they remained alive. But these Pkt. folk-poems, which were preserved in literature like the *Sattasāi* of Hāla, did not show any change, as all the possibilities for such a change were arrested for ever with their incorporation into literary works. Again it should be clearly pointed out here that as the store of the folk-poems was the mind of the common man, the retentive capacity of which was limited and varied from persons to persons, there has been found occasionally inaccurate reproduction of the stanzas and sometimes even the substitution of the same by others treating identical themes. This particular feature has been responsi-



ble; it may be suggested, for the growth of many versions of the same verses and also the origin of different verses, expressive of similar ideas. So any endeavour to read in the latter a deliberate attempt to compose imitative stanzas in an artificial manner will be erroneous and it would lead only to a wrong appraisal of facts.

Now, it may be quite reasonably asked why the popular poems are found only in the Saur. or the western Ap. and not in other regional Aps. like the Māg. or the Ardha-Māg. It is quite natural for us to expect the poems in the local Aps., as with the change of the Pkts. to various Aps. the popular poems in the spoken Pkts. must have assumed the local Ap. forms. We can, however, advance two suggestions, which seem to explain the want of availability of the popular poems in all such local Aps. It may be that the popular poems in Māg., Ardha-Māg. or any other Ap. have not been preserved due to want of proper cultivation of the respective speech, in which these have occurred. It may be said in support of the above statement that Hem. and other western grammarians have not mentioned any dialectal variation of Ap. as a literary speech and the 27 varieties of the same, which the eastern grammarians have described and reduced to three chief dialects viz. Nāgara, Vṛācaḍa and the Upanāgara have been demonstrated to be fundamentally one literary speech, i.e. Western or Saur. Ap. by Grierson. So the popular poems in the various local Aps. have not been preserved due to want of literarisation of all these dialects. It may be also the fact that all such poems in different Ap. dialects have been translated into literary Saur. Ap., as it was the most polite language—a lingua franca for interprovincial communication also used for literary purposes all over Aryan India and aptly suited for poetry of all sorts. As it was responsible for the suppression of the local speeches, which could not achieve the glory of literary languages, we do not find any record of the popular poems in such regional Aps., though they certainly existed in them, which were merely the spoken idioms. Now, as with the transition of the Pkts. to various Aps. the Pkt. poems gradually changed to Ap. poems, exactly in the same manner with the gradual transformation of the Aps. to the modern Aryan dialects, the Ap. poems have appeared as vernacular ones. The above mentioned evolution has taken place so imperceptibly that it is not possible for one to draw the line of demarcation between the two

stages of the language represented by Ap. and the modern vernacular respectively or to point out exactly where they coalesce. There are some verses, recently come to light—the language of which some call as Ap. but others as some dialect of the modern vernacular. Again, one will be in confusion with regard to some stanzas of the PP.

Let us show by citing examples how the transformation of Ap. poems has taken place in the different vernaculars. We quote first those stanzas, in which the vernacular poems are directly descended from those of Aps. by a process of gradual evolution. The difference between the two, it will be noticed, is mainly in the inflexions, the basic stems of vocables in most cases, however, not being affected by the phonetic modifications. We will take into account also those stanzas both in Ap. and the vernacular, in which no development by direct evolution can be observed but there is only a mere semblance of ideas. In Hem. 4.398 occurs a stanza

जइ भग्ना पारकड़ा तो सहि मझु पिएण ।

अह भग्ना अम्हह' तणा तो तें मारिअडेण ॥

[Tran: If the enemies are defeated, then, my friend, they must have been so by my lover; if our men are defeated then it must have been so by his being killed.] The same appears in Rājasthānī with slight modifications.

अह भग्ना पारक्याडा तो सहि मुझ पिएण ।

अह भग्ना अम्हह'तणा तो तिह जुझ पड़ेण ॥

I. 48 सामान्य राजस्थानरा दूहा

[Tr. If the enemies are defeated, then their defeat is caused by my lover; if our own men are broken, then it must have been done after he has fallen in the field.] Hem. quotes a stanza:—

वायसु उडावँतिअए' पिउ दिइउ सहसति ।

अद्धा वलया महिहि गया अद्धा फुट्ट तडिति ॥ 4. 352.

[Tr. As the lover was all of a sudden sighted by a lady, who was driving away the crows, half of her bracelets dropped down on the earth and the (rest) half cracked with a noise] which appears in a Rājasthānī stanza

काग उडावण धण खड़ी आयो पीव भड़क्य ।

आधी चूड़ी काग गल आधी गई तड़क्य ॥ *Int. Rājasthānī Dūhā*

[Tr. As the beautiful lady stooped to scare away the crow, suddenly the lover appeared. Half of her bracelets stuck to the neck of the

crow and the other half suddenly cracked.] The same appears in a different version.

काग उड़ावण जाँवती पिय दीठो सहसति ।

आधी चूडी काग गल आधी टूट तडित्ति ॥

*Nāgari Pracāriṇī Patrikā*, Bhāg. 2, Saṃvat 1978.

[Tr. As the woman sent to scare away the crow the lover came in view; half of her bracelets stuck to the neck of the crow and the other half cracked quickly.] In Hem. occurs a stanza:—

पुत्तें जाएं कवण गुण अवगुण कवण मुण ।

जा वप्पीकी भुंहुडी चम्पिजइ अवरेण ॥ 4. 395.

[Tr. What is the gain by the birth of a son; what is the loss if he dies; when the ancestral property (land) is being appropriated by another?] The same appears with some changes in Rājasthānī as

वेटां जायां कवण गुण अवगुण कवण धियेण ।

जां उभां धर आपणी गंजीजै अवरेण ॥ *Int. Rājasthānī Dūhā*

[Tr. What is the gain in the birth of a son, what is the harm if a daughter be born, when what one possesses be seized by another?]

We find in Hem. 4. 444. a stanza

चम्पक कुसुमहो मज्झि सहि भसलु पइइउ ।

सोहइ इन्द्रनीलु जणि कणइ वइइउ ॥

[Tr. My friend, a bee has entered into the flower of चम्पक and shines as if इन्द्रनील is set in gold.]

It appears in Hindi as

चम्पक कुसुमहिं मों म सहि भँवर पैठो ।

सोहै इन्द्रनील जणु कनकहिं बैठो ॥

*Nāgari Pracāriṇī Patrikā*, Bhāg. 2. Sam. 1978.

In the *Prabandha-cintamani* occurs a stanza

जहु यइ रावणु जाइयहु दहमुहु इकुतु सरीर ।

जणणि वियंभी चितवइ कवणु पियावउँ खोर ॥

*Int. Rājasthānī Dūhā*

[Tr. When Rāvaṇa was born with ten heads in a body his mother was in a confusion as to which mouth she was to give suck.] The same appears in Rājasthānī and with little changes as

राजा रावण जनमियो दसमुख एक सरीर ।

जननीने सौंसो भयो किण मुख घालुं खोर ॥

In the *Prabandha-cintamani* occurs a stanza in Ap. which describes the Paramāra king Munja.

माली तुट्टी किं न मुउ किं न हुअउ छारपुंज ।  
हिंडइ दोरी बंधीयउ जिम मक्कड तिम मुंज ॥

N. P. P., Bh. 2, Sam. 1978.

[Tr. Why did I not die being consumed by the flames or strangled by a rope? Why am I not reduced to ashes? As a monkey moves being tied to the bar of the threshold, so does Munja.]. The same appears in Hindi as

जलि टुटि किमि न मुअ किम न हुयो छरपुंज ।  
हिंडै डोरी बंधियो जिम मक्कड तिम मुंज ॥ *Ibid.*

In Hem. occurs the stanza

वाह विछोदवि जाहि तुहुं तेवई को दोसु ।  
हिअयद्विय जइ नीसरहि जानउं मुंज सरोसु ॥ 4. 439.

[Tr. O मुंज you may go throwing off my arms. Let it be so, what harm is there? I shall consider मुंज to be angry if you go out from my heart]. The above translation of P. L. Vaidya varies from that of Pischel, who interprets the verse as "Thränen vergiessend gehst du fort, ebenso ich was schadet es? Wenn du fortgehst im Herzen weilend, weiss ich dasz der zorn (schwach wie) schilfgras ist. "You go away shedding tears, so do I; there is no harm. If you continue to be in the heart, I know that your anger is slender like a sedge." The same seems to be echoed in the following verse, which is ascribed to Suradāsa.

बाबु छुडाए जात हो निवल जानके मोहि ।  
हिरदे से जब जाहुंगे तो मैं जानौं तोहि ॥ *Ibid.*

[Tr. Considering me weak you may go away extricating yourself from my arms. If you can go away from my heart, then I shall know you to be strong.] The Ap. verse

गिरिहुं वि आनिउ पाणिउ पिजइ तरुहे वि निवडिउ फलु भक्खिजइ ।  
गिरिहं व तरुहुं व पडिअउ अछइह विसयहिं तहवि विराउ न गच्छइ ॥ *Ibid.*

[Tr. One drinks the water brought from (the streams of) the hills and eats the fruits fallen from the trees. One's purposes are served from what one gets from the hills and the trees, yet one is never disgusted with one's properties.] has found transformation in Hindi as

गिरिहुं भि आन्यो पानी पीजे तरुहुं भि नित्पायो फल भक्खीजै ।  
गिरिहुं भि तरुहुं भि पडियो आछै विषहदँ तहवि न विराग गच्छै ॥ *Ibid.*

Again the Ap. stanza

जौ जहाँ होन्तउ सो तहा होन्तउ सत्तुवि मित्तुवि किहे वि हुभवहु ।  
जहिं विहु तहिं विहु मग्गे लीया एक्कए दिदिहि दोषि वि लोअहु ॥ *Ibid.*

[Tr. Let there happen whatever may; what is the harm if one be a friend or an enemy. One may take to any way, both the friend and the foe should be looked as the same] occurs in Hindi as

जो जहं होत सो तहं होतो  
शत्रुभि मीतभि कोइ हि आवो  
जहँ भी तहँभी मारगलीना  
एकहिँ दीठिहिँ दोनहि जोहो ॥ *Ibid.*

The Ap. stanza

अम्हे निन्ददु कोवि जणु अम्हइ' वारणउ कोवि ।  
अम्हे निन्दहु' कंवि न वि नम्हइ' वरणहु' कं वि ॥ *Ibid.*

[Tr. Some speaks ill of me, some praises me. But I do not speak ill of anybody, nor do I praise any one.] is found to have transformed in Hindi

हमें निन्दो कोई जन हमें वरणी कोई ।  
हम निन्दें कोई ( को ) भी नहीं न हम वरनै' कोई ॥ *Ibid.*

The Ap. stanza

पइठी करिण जिणागमहो वत्तडिआवि हू जासु ।  
अम्हारउं तुम्हारउं वि एहु ममत्तु न तासु ॥ *Ibid.*

[Tr. He, in whose ears enters the news of the arrival of Jina, certainly shakes off such a feeling as this is mine or that is yours (which is a selfish motive)] appears in Hindi as

पैठी कान जिनागम(की) बातडी भी जासु ।  
हमारो तुम्हारो यह ममत्व न तासु ॥ *Ibid.*

We find an Ap. stanza

उग्या ताविउ जहिं न किउ लक्खउ भणइ निषट्ट ।  
गणिया लब्भइ दोहडा के दहक अहवा अइ ॥ *Ibid.*

[Tr. If one being powerful does not conquer his enemy rather becomes engaged in friendly talks with him, he gets the opportunity of conquering his enemy only for a period of eight or ten days] which occurs in the vernacular as

उग्या तावित जेहि न क्रिय लक्खो भणै निषट्ट ।  
गिणया लब्भै दोहडा के दहक अहवा अइ ॥

We have cited some of the stanzas, which clearly point to the nature of transition of Ap. poems. We like to quote a few of those where direct evolution of the above kind cannot be traced. Here we will find the similarity of ideas and thought between the Ap. and the vernacular poems for which some explanation we have advanced before. The stanzas of this sort are countless and a complete survey

of all those, which occur in the different vernaculars demand from one undivided attention to the task and most strenuous application of energy and enthusiasm. We quote only a few to show the exact nature of similarity, which we have just mentioned. In Hem. occurs a stanza

जो गुण गोवइ अप्पणा पयडा करइ परस्सु ।

तसु हउँ कलि जुगि दुल्लहो बलि किजउ सुअणस्सु ॥ 4. 338.

[ Tr. I offer my homage to the noble man, rare in this kali-age, who conceals his own virtues and manifests those of others] which seems to be echoed in the Rājasthānī poem.

निजगुण ढाँकण नेक निन परगुण गिण गावंत ।

ऐसा जगमें सुजन जया विरला हि पावंत ॥ 3. सज्जन (6)

*Rājasthānī Dūbā,*

[ Tr. A man, who conceals his own virtues, but speaks highly of those of the others, is commendable but can hardly be found in the world.] The second line of the stanza

गुणहिं न संवइ किति पर फल लिहिआ भुजन्ति ।

केसरि न लहइ बोड्डिअ वि गय लक्खेहिं छेप्पन्ति ॥ 4. 335.

[ Tr. By virtues (one can get) only fame but not wealth ; people get fruit which is written (on their forehead by destiny) ; a lion is not worth even a cowrie but the elephant costs lacs] corresponds exactly to the second line of the stanza

एकड रण वसंतडा एवड अंतर काय ।

सिंघ कवड़ी वा लहइ भयवर लाख विकाय ॥ *Rājasthānī Dūbā.*

[ Tr. Both (the elephant and the lion) live in the same forest but there is such difference between the two that lion is not worth even a single cowrie, while the elephant deserves a lac.]

Again, the second line of the stanza.

जे महु दिरणा दिअहडा दइए पवसन्तेण ।

ताण गणतिए अंगुलिउ जजरिआउ णहेण ॥ 4. 333.

[ Tr. My fingers are shattered (wounded) by the rubbings of nails while I was (engaged in) counting the days that were given to me by my lover, when he started on journey] fairly corresponds to a line of a Rājasthānī verse

गिणतां गिणतां घस गई आँगलियाँ री रेख ।

*Nāg. Prāc. Patrikā, Bhāg. 2, Sam. 1978.*

[ Tr. While counting the days by the fingers all the nails were

exhausted (by constant rubbings)]. In Vidyāpati, the eminent poet of Mithila we find

‘दिवस लिखि लिखि नखर खोयायल विसरल गोकूल नाम’ *Viraha*.

[ Tr. I exhausted my nails by counting days and forget the name of Gokula.] The Ap. stanza

तं तेत्तिउ जलु सायरहो सो तेवइ विथार ।

तिसहे शिवारणु पलु वि नवि पर धुटुअइ असार । *Hem. 4. 397.*

[ Tr. So much water the ocean has ; so vast is its extent ; thirst, however, is not even a little quenched ; only it thunders for nothing] has some semblance with the stanza in Rājasthānī.

वरि विवरो जहिं जलु पियइ धुहुग्धइ चुल्लुएण ।

सायरि अत्थि वहुय जल छि खारउ किं तेण ॥ *Rājasthānī Dūhā.*

[ Tr. It is better to have a hole from which water can be drunk to one’s heart’s contents. The ocean contains much water which is full of salt. What purpose is served by it ? ]

We believe that the above quotation of verses is adequate to the task of establishing our proposition. The continuity of the Ap. verses in the vernaculars point to the fact that the social conditions and circumstances, which motivated the Ap. verses, continued, to a certain extent, in the period of the vernaculars. Had it been otherwise, there would have been total extinction of such vernacular poems due to want of proper cultivation. So for this reason we find that the thoughts and ideas of the Ap. period, which were conspicuous by their origin in the society of the common folk, have survived, to some extent, even in the present time. Of course, the new social forces caused by the Turco-muslim invasions of the country, the rise of various new faiths and religious movements and also other epoch-making events gave a definite turn to the trend of literary activities and evolution of new kind of literature. The folk-poems too, of the period could not but be affected by the waves of such social changes and develop new tendencies. This seems to explain the growth of those popular poems, which considerably differ in nature from those in Aps. It is sure that the Ap. folk-poems contribute greatly to a correct estimate of the society, where these had their origin. As such they deserve care, investigation and a more critical approach to their multifarious problems.

# Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India

## CHAPTER XV

*The events of the time when Ārya Nāgārjuna  
was in charge of the teaching*

Thereafter Paṇḍita<sup>1</sup> Nāgārjuna maintained<sup>2</sup> the teaching and spread extensively the Mādhyamika-system. He rendered great service to the Śrāvakas, specially after having turned out a number of Bhikṣus and Śrāmaṇeras, who had transgressed many disciplinary rules and who had great influence in the Saṅgha and who are said to have been about 8,000 in number. Thereupon all sects acknowledge him as their master. At this time, appeared Bhadanta Nanda, Bhadanta Paramasena<sup>3</sup>, Bhadanta Samyaksatya<sup>4</sup>. These three had grasped the Yogācāra thought and had written Śāstras; and as they obviously preached the *ālaya*<sup>5</sup>, these three Bhadantas are called the old Yogācāryas and Asaṅga with his brother are counted as later ones; and it is clear that they were not his successors. Paṇḍita Nāgārjuna granted maintenance to 500 dharma-preachers of Mahāyāna, teaching in Śrī-Nālandā for many years with the wealth which he had obtained by the gold transforming essence. He succeeded in invoking Caṇḍikā. When this goddess was about to take him with her to heaven and to lead him into the dwellings of the gods, he told her that for the time being it would not be necessary to go there; but that he had acquired the *siddhi* in order that the goddess (Caṇḍikā) might give support to the priests of the Mahāyāna as long as the doctrine would exist. According to these words she settled down to the west near Nālandā in the form of Vaiśyabhadra<sup>6</sup>. The Paṇḍita drove a great Khadira-wedge<sup>7</sup>,

1 སྤྱི་བ་དཔོན།

2 བསྐྱུངས།

3 དམ་པའི་སྤེ།

4 ཡང་དག་བདེན།

5 ཀུན་གཞི།

6 རྗེ་རིགས་ས་བཟང་མོ།

7 སེང་ལྗེང།



weighing one man-load, into a very high, thick wall of the Mañjuśrī-temple built with stone and solicited her to maintain the clergy until this wedge was transformed into ashes. After she had supplied the clergy with everything for twelve years, it happened, that at last an worthless Śrāmaṇera who did the service made repeated proposals of love to her, but she answered nothing. She told him once, that she would come to him if that Khadira-wedge could be transformed into ashes. When that Khadira-wedge had been burnt and transformed into ashes by that evil Śrāmaṇera, the goddess disappeared at once. Thereupon the Ācārya erected 108 centres of Mahāyāna teaching in the 108 temples, put up an image of Mahākāla in each of them, and entrusted the god with the protection of the doctrine. Further at the time when an elephant in Vajrāsana did great harm to the Bodhi-tree, he erected two stone-pillars behind the Bodhi-tree, and so no more damage occurred. The stone-pillars were put up, each with a Mahākāla riding on a lion and holding a club, which proved very useful for some years; when damage occurred again, the tree was enclosed with a stone-railing, behind which 108 Caityas were set up with images of gods. The blessed fruit-giving Caitya<sup>1</sup> was surrounded by a wall and within the wall 108 temples were erected. At the time when water had done great damage to the eastern side of the Vajrāsana, seven stone-blocks were put up in the shape of a dam, on which a large image of Muni<sup>2</sup> with face backwards was engraved, and the damage of the water was warded off in this way. They were called the seven Dam-Munis. As the word *Chulon*<sup>3</sup> is a designation of the dam, only ignorant persons say that the images are so called because these were made in the shape resembling the image seen in water. If one says that these images were made at the time when King Utiyana<sup>4</sup> was converted, this would not be in conformity with the Vinaya-text, and it makes obvious the value of the two traditions.

About this time, king Muñja with a following of 1000 men obtained the Vidyādhara *Kāyasiddhi* in the country of Oḍiśa<sup>5</sup>, and

1 དཔལ་ལྷན་འབྲས་སྤྲུངས་ཀྱི་མཆོད་རྟན།

2 ཐུབ་པ་འི་སྐུ་བརྟན་ཆེན་པོ།

3 ཅུ་ལོན།

4 ཡུ་ཏི་ཡན།

5 ཡུ་རི་བི་ཤ།

in the west in a part of Mālava called Ṭoḍhahari, King Bhojadeva with 1000 followers gained the Siddhi. They could make themselves invisible and so forth by uttering mantras but could not gain all *siddhis*. The Āryas acquired many Dhāraṇīs and the *Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* the composition of which the Śrāvakas attributed to Nāgārjuna. After this time no new Mahāyāna-Sūtras were added. In order to put an end to the quarrel of the Śrāvakas, who believed in the existence of the matter, he composed the five *Nyāya-saṃgrahas* and other works. The Tibetan histories record that 1,20,000 ślokas were mentioned in a Śāstra called *Nyāyālaṃkāra* which was written by Bhikṣu Kṣemaṅkara' (or Saṃkara) in order to refute the Mahāyāna; in three Indian historical books, however, the corresponding statement is that there were 12,000 ślokas. In the east many temples were erected in Paṭaveśa or Pukam<sup>2</sup> and in Oḍiviśa, Bhaṅgala and Rāḍhā. At this time, Brahmin Suviṣṇu erected 108 temples in Magadha, in Śrī-Nālandā, and 108 seats for the teaching of the Abhidharma (Mātrkā), so that the Abhidharma of Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna would not perish.

Towards the end of his life the venerable Nāgārjuna betook himself to the regions of the south and after having converted King Udayana he protected the doctrine for many years. In the south, in the country of Dravaḍi[?], there were two Brahmins, Madhu and Supramadhu, who were possessed of inconceivable wealth. They vied with Ācārya Nāgārjuna in the sciences of the Brahmins, in the four Vedas and in 18 sciences, etc. The Brahmins, however, had not gained a hundredth part of the knowledge which the Ācārya possessed. The two Brahmins said: "O you son of a Brahmin, who has learned down to the bottom of all Śāstras referring to the three Vedas, why have you become a Śākya-Śramaṇa?" When Nāgārjuna explained to them that the Vedas were not to be praised, but that the teaching (of Buddha) should be praised, they became very faithful and rendered reverence to Mahāyāna. When the Ācārya had initiated them in the Mantras, the former (Madhu) invoked Sarasvatī, the latter (Supra-madhu) Vasudhārā, and both of them maintained 250 Mahāyāna preachers; the first had the *Prajñāpāramitā* which contained

1,00,000 ślokas copied in 1, 2, or 3 days etc., and gave many copies to the Bhikṣus; the second supplied the clergy with all requisites. As this Ācārya upheld the excellent doctrine in every possible way by preaching, contemplating, erecting of temples, supporting the clergy, working for the benefit of the non-human beings, refuting the attacks of the Tīrthyas, etc., he should be regarded as the incomparable benefactor of Mahāyāna-doctrine. As I have given the biography of the great Brahmin<sup>1</sup> and of Ārya Nāgārjuna in the account of the seven-sectioned Tantras it may be regarded as well-known.

King Udayana lived for 150 years; this Ācārya, however, lived, as some people presume, 71 years less than 600, according to others, however, 29 years less than 600; if we follow the first opinion, he is supposed to have lived in Madhyadeśa for 200 years, in the south for 200 years, in Śrīparvata for 129 years, obviously a rough calculation, about which my teacher and Paṇḍita was of the opinion, that half a year had been counted as one whole year. The other opinion resembles the previous one in every respect; it only supposes that he lived in Śrīparvata for 171 years. As he had conjured the life-giving balsam, his skin took the colour of jewels<sup>2</sup>. By contemplation in Śrīparvata he obtained the first Bodhisattva-stage and his body was adorned with the thirty-two marks.

A friend of the Ācārya was the Ācārya and Brāhmin Vararuci, who lived as a *purohita* of King Udayana. At this time a younger wife of the king knew a little grammar while the king did not learn it. At the time when they played in water in the pleasure-grounds and the king splashed her with water, she said to him: “*modakāsim-ca*” i.e. don't splash me with water.” The king, however, understood this in accordance with the language of the south, made a cake of peas and boiled it in sesame-oil and gave her such a cake. The queen thought, it would be better to die than to live with such an ox-like king and got ready to kill herself, but she was stopped by the king, who set about to learn the language and diligently learnt it

1 Rāhulabhadra or Saraha.

2 རྩོམ་གྱི་མཛེས་ལྗང་གྱུར་གྱུར།

3 Cf. *Kathāsaritsāgara*, I. 6: “*modakāṣṭh paritāḍaya*” [The same story is told here in connection with King Sātavāhana and his queen. For “*modakāṣṭh*” see Lilāvai: Intro. The king was Sātavāhana whose guru was Nāgārjuna.

with the Brahmin Vararuci, but as he did not make much progress, he took lessons also from Ācārya Saptavarmā<sup>1</sup>.

The history of Ācārya Vararuci is as follows: The Brahmin, who was eagerly devoted to Buddha's doctrine and to *Ṣaṭ-karma*<sup>2</sup> and who became acquainted with the venerable Nāgārjuna at the time when he (Nāgārjuna) was Paṇḍita in Nālandā, came from the country of Rāḍhā<sup>3</sup> which was situated to the east of Magadha. When he had recited the sacred *Avalokiteśvaramantra* for twelve years and had at last offered him (Avalokiteśvara) an incense with an equipment of 4,00,000 in gold, Avalokiteśvara appeared and asked what he wanted. "I wish to bring about the welfare of all living beings through the great Siddhis and that you make Mahākāla my servant." When this was granted to him, he could accomplish every charm as he desired and through the eight Siddhis, *Bindu*, etc.<sup>4</sup> he rendered thousandfold service to the living beings; the eight *Siddhiprāptas* recognized him as their teacher and he was thoroughly acquainted with all sciences without having studied them. When he had then betaken himself to the south, he lived in the country of the very wealthy king Śāntivāhana and, and when living there rendered service to the living beings through Mantras and Tantras. He rendered still greater services to the living beings, when he came to Vārāṇasī, where ruled at this time King Bhīmaśukla.

Kālidāsa's life is fitted in at that time. As he had then come to the south and King Udayana wanted to learn the language, but could not find a teacher who knew Pāṇini's book completely, and when he had heard that the Nāgarājaśeṣa knew the Pāṇini completely, the Brahmin Vararuci called him through the power of Mantras and made him give a detailed explanation of the whole meaning of Pāṇini in 1,00,000 ślokas, which the Ācārya wrote down; both, however, were separated by a curtain. When 25,000 ślokas were done, the Ācārya wanted to see what sort of body it had, he lifted the curtain and

1 Cf. Ācārya Śarvavarmā in the *Kāthāsaritsāgara*.

2 ལས་རྒྱལ།

3 ར་རྩ་ཡུལ། = Rāḍha, and not "chāgala" as suggested by Schiefner.

4 རིལ་བྱ་ལ་སོགས་པ་གྲུབ་པ་བརྒྱད་པོ།

saw a big, stretched out snake, which ran away, out of shame. Thereupon, the Ācārya himself continued writing the explanation, but there were not more than 12,000 ślokas. These two works together are known by the name of the grammar taught by the Nāgas. In it there is much teaching of language and other sciences. It is said that at last Mahākāla took him on his shoulders and carried him to the summit of the Sumeru to Parijāta. As King Udayana did not trust the explanation which had been made by the Ācārya Vararuci, he ordered the Brahmin Saptavarman to invoke the Ṣaṇmukhakumāra. When he was conjured up, he asked the Brāhmin what he wanted. "Give me the *Indravvyākaraṇa*." When the god had only pronounced the words "*Siddhovaṇṇasamāmnāya*,"<sup>1</sup> he comprehended the meaning of all sounds. Formerly it was told in the traditions current in Tibet, that Ṣaṇmukhakumāra had dictated the first four chapters of *Kalāpa* and the *Kalāpa* was to be comprehended as joining together of the parts, as the differently coloured parts were joined together in the tail-feathers of the peacock. It is, however, not that *Kalāpa* was written by Saptavarman himself and the meaning of collecting the parts is that all necessary parts were collected. Also the name of this Ācārya is written wrongly as a "Īśvaravarman," as also the form "Sarvavarman" has crept in by mistake; Saptavarman means "Seven-Armour"<sup>2</sup>.

1 Cf. *Kalāpa*, I.

2 Cf. *Kaṭhāsaritsāgara*, I. 2, in which Vararuci (*alias* Kātyāyana) gives his autobiography. It runs thus: Vararuci was born in a Brāhmaṇa family of Kauśāmbi. His father died when he was very young and so he was brought up by his mother with great difficulty. It was prophesied at the time of his birth that he would be a *śruti-dhara* (i.e. he could remember whatever he heard once). He was accepted as a student on account of his quick memory by the distinguished teacher Vaiṣa of Pāṭaliputra. He had two fellow-students, Indradatta and Vyāḍi. All of them stayed with the teacher for a long time and studied various śāstras.

Vararuci fell in love with Upakośā, the lovely daughter of Upavarṣa, brother of Ācārya Vaiṣa. He was duly married to her, and the ceremony was performed at Pāṭaliputra in the presence of his mother who came from Kauśāmbi. After marriage the couple lived together happily.

About this time. Pāṇini, who had a very dull intellect, became a student of Ācārya Vaiṣa. But Pāṇini, through the blessing of the great god Śaṅkara, developed a fine intellect and became a great grammarian. On one occasion Vararuci joined issues with him but was defeated miserably and was enjoined

Kālidāsa's life-story is as follows: At the time when the Brahmin Vararuci had as honourable a position as Bhīmaśukla, the king of Vārāṇasī, the king wanted to give his daughter Vāsantī in marriage to the Brahmin Vararuci. Vāsantī, however, out of pride, because she thought herself to be of higher learning, did not want to be subservient to him. So Vararuci intended to deceive her by a trick and said to the king: "Invite my learned teacher who is a hundred times wiser than me, and give him Vāsantī." He saw a cow-boy of beautiful figure from Magadha, who, sitting at the end of the branch of a tree, struck with the axe the base of the branch; when he saw how stupid he was, he called him; after having bathed and anointed him carefully for some days, he dressed him in the costume of a Brahmin Paṇḍita, taught him only the sentence "Om svasti" and ordered him, when he would stand in front of the king and his court to throw flowers at the king and to say "Om svasti," but if somebody else asked him, any question, he was not to give any answer. When he did this and threw flowers at the king, he said "uśaṭara." Then the Ācārya explained the sense of the four letters and passed them off as a benediction:

*Umayā sabito Rudraḥ, Śaṃkarasāhito Viṣṇuḥ/  
ṭaṃkāraSūlapāṇīśca, rakṣantu Śivaḥ sarvadā/|*

Thereupon Vāsantī began to ask him about the meaning of the words etc., but he did not give any answer. Vararuci, however, said: "Why shall he, my learned teacher, answer the question of a woman?"

by the great god Śaṃkara to accept and disseminate the grammar composed by Pāṇini. His grammar called *Andravākaṇa* was therefore destroyed beyond recovery.

King Yogananda (better known as Nanda), made Vararuci one of his ministers. On one occasion, the king suspected illicit love between Vararuci and his queen and so he commanded his chief minister Śakaṭāra to put him to death, but the wise minister Śakaṭāra saved his life by an expedient and kept him concealed in his house. In course of time, when the king realised his mistake and repented for the death of a wise man like Vararuci, the chief minister Śakaṭāra disclosed to him that he had not killed Vararuci. The king thereupon sought the pardon of Vararuci and wanted to reinstate him as one of his ministers, but Vararuci declined the offer and became a recluse and went to the Vindhya forest for worshipping Vindhyāvāsini goddess. At last he decided to lay down his mortal frame at Badarikā. For *Andravākaṇa* and dates of Vararuci and Pāṇini, see Belvalkar, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* (1915) pp. 10 ff.

After Brahmin Vararuci had confused his (the cow-boy's) head in this way, he escaped to the south. When the husband was led to all temples, he did not utter a word; at last, after he had seen the figures of different beings, he was very pleased to see the picture of an ox painted on the outside-wall of a temple and took the ways of a cow-boy. Then Vāsantī cried: "Alas, he is a cow-keeper," and she knew that she had been tricked. She thought: "If he is clever, I shall teach him the language," but when she examined him, she found that he was a dullard. Becoming very angry Vāsantī sent her husband daily to pick flowers. In some part of Magadha there was an image of the goddess Kālī made by a divine artist. Every day he brought plenty of flowers to it, bowed, and prayed full of devotion. Once when Vāsantī was offering sacrifices to the goddess and when he had gone by day-break to pick flowers, one of Vāsantī's maid-servants had hidden for fun behind the frame of the image, chewing areca nuts<sup>1</sup>. When the cow-boy was praying as before, this maid-servant put a piece of chewed nut into his hand; he, however, swallowed it, thinking that the goddess herself had given it to him. On the spot he received unhindered intelligence<sup>2</sup> and became a great expert in dialectics, grammar, and poetry. Once he held in his right hand a day-lotus (*padma*), in his left hand a night-lotus (*utpala*) and when Vāsantī asked him, which he wanted, whether the beautiful day-lotus with the thick stalk or the little night-lotus with the delicate stalk, he answered: "In my right hand the day-lotus, in my left likewise the night-lotus, whether with delicate or thick stalk, take which you like, oh lotus-eyed one." When the wife now perceived that he had become learned, she began to honour him highly and as he had shown great reverence to the goddess Kālī, he was called Kālidāsa. At the same time he became the crown-jewel of all poets, wrote the eight Dūtakāvyas, Meghaduta etc.<sup>3</sup> Kumārasambhava and many other Kāvyas. He as well as Saptavarman both belonged to the heterodox sects.

<sup>1</sup> གོ་ལ །

<sup>2</sup> སྒོ་གྲོས་ཐོགས་བ་མེད་པས

<sup>3</sup> སྤྱིན་གྱི་ཕོ་ཉ་ལ་སོགས་བ་ཕོ་ཉ་བརྒྱད་དང །

At this time there lived in the country of Li, the Arhant Saṃghavardhana and further among many Vaibhāṣika-teachers in Tukhāra, Vāmana, in Kāśmīra Kuṇāla, in the middle of Aparāntaka Kṣemaṃkara, in the east Ācārya Saṃghavardhana; among the Sautrāntika Ācāryas in the west, Bhadanta Kumāralābha. Each of these had a number of disciples.

At this time King Haricandra together with his retinue had obtained a rainbow-body<sup>1</sup> and there was no offspring. It was the time, when his nephew Akṣacandra and his son Jayacandra were in power. Though both of them honoured the excellent law, there is no account of their substantial services to the doctrine.

In the south King Haribhadra with a retinue of 1000 men obtained the *Bindu-siddhi*. From the time of appearance of Mahāyāna up to this day out of 1000 men about 100 became Vidyādharas.

At this time the Turaṣka faith appeared for the first time. While some people say, that it was started at the time when the Bhadanta Śrīlābha died, others maintain, that it was the time of a disciple of Kuṇāla. There was a very learned, but unbelieving Sautrāntika, called Kumārasena, who, when he had been expelled from the clergy on account of violation of the vows, became very enraged and decided to found a doctrine which could compete with the Buddha-doctrine. He betook himself into the country of Śulika situated at the other side of Tukhāra<sup>2</sup>, took the name Māmathār<sup>3</sup>, changed his costume and started the law of *himsā* known as Turaṣka (Tivara or Anārya) doctrine, and kept it in the abode of the spirit *Bi. śli. mli.* of the family of Dānavas<sup>4</sup>. Blessed by the Māra he accomplished by frequent magic incantations victories over others. At this time a virgin from the Brahmin-caste in the country of Khorasan collected daily many flowers and after having accumulated them, she offered them

<sup>1</sup> འཇའ་ལྷན་གྱི་རྩུབ་པས་=the body of a saint vanishing in the manner of the colours of a rain-bow. See S. C. Das's Dictionary sv.

<sup>2</sup> དགྲི་ཡུལ་གྱི་རྒྱབ་ཀྱི་ལུག་། <sup>3</sup> ལྷ་མ་ཐར་།

<sup>4</sup> འཛོལ་ཆོས་སུ་སྦྱོར་བའི་ཁྲ་ཁྲོ་བའི་ཆོས་བརྩམས་དེ་། ལྷ་མིན་གྱི་རིགས་གྱི་གཞོན་ཆེན་པོ་ཤི་སྒྲིའི་གནས་སུ་སྦྱས་ཤིང་གད་དོ།



partly as sacrifice to the gods, partly she sold them to others. Once a spirit<sup>1</sup> came out of the middle of a heap of flowers and penetrated into her body, whereby she became pregnant. After one year a very strong boy was born, who, when grown up, beat all the boys of the same age and killed all the animals, therefore, the chief of the place drove him out into the forest. But there also he put the men, whom he met, in bondage, made some his slaves, killed several wild animals and living beings of the forest and gave the meat, bones and skin to the men in bondage. When the king heard about it, made enquiries and questioned him, he said: "I am neither a Brahmin, nor a Kṣatriya, nor a Vaiśya nor a Śūdra, and as none have taught the custom of my caste and this has exasperated me. If there would be somebody, who would deliver to me the law followed by my caste, I would comply with his instructions." Questioned by the king who would deliver to him the law followed by his caste, he said, he himself would look for him. Instructed by Māra in a dream he found the work formerly hidden. When he had read the same, he faithfully adhered to it and pondered who would teach the same. On Māra's instruction he came in contact with Māmāthār and received guidance from him. He also performed magic incantations and became along with a following of 1000 men Turuṣka saints who were called Paikhampa<sup>2</sup>. When he had betaken himself to the country near Makha, he taught his false doctrine to Brahmins and Kṣatriyas, and this is the origin of the royal-families of the Saita<sup>3</sup> and Turuṣka<sup>4</sup>. This teacher was known under the name of Ardho and this was the first beginning of the Turuṣka doctrine. The 15th chapter, the events of the time when Arya Nāgārjuna was in charge of the doctrine.

U. N. GHOSHAL & N. DUTT

1 ཁྱི་ལ་ཞིག་=a cat or the name of a spirit, see S. C. Das's *Dictionary*, s.v.

2 བོཁས་པ།

3 སེ་ཏུ།

4 ཏུ་ཅ་ཞི།

## Pāla Rule in the Tippera District

There are still many gaps in our knowledge in the ancient history of many parts of India. Many problems cannot be satisfactorily solved in the present state of our knowledge owing to the want of sufficient data bearing on them. This unsatisfactory state of things often leads to theorising on slender basis and often on no basis at all. But occasionally new discoveries throw welcome light on such problems and upset established 'theories'.

The Tibetan accounts supported by some other indications, show that the territory, over which Gopāla I, founder of the Pāla dynasty, originally held sway, lay in the south-eastern part of Bengal<sup>1</sup>; but no records of the Pālas were discovered in that area. When therefore the Baghaura (Tippera District) inscription<sup>2</sup> of the third regnal year of a king named Mahīpāla was discovered, it was only natural for scholars to take this Mahīpāla to be no other than Mahīpāla I (*circa* 988—1038 A.D.) of the Pāla dynasty. But in *IHQ.*, vol. XVI, 1940, pp. 179-82, Dr. D. C. Ganguly suggested that Mahīpāla of the Baghaura inscription should be identified with the Gurjara-Pratīhāra Mahīpāla I, son of Mahendrapāla I (*circa* 892-908 A.D.). This theory was based on the fact that several inscriptions of Mahendrapāla I, with dates ranging between his 2nd and 19th<sup>3</sup> regnal years, were found in South Bihar and one of his 5th regnal year at Paharpur in North Bengal<sup>4</sup>. These records no doubt prove that Pratīhāra Mahendrapāla I ousted the Pālas from South Bihar and North Bengal. Dr. Ganguly's theory however involves two conjectures: (1) that Mahendrapāla I succeeded in extending his power in the Tippera region in South-West Bengal and (2) that the Tippera District continued to form a part of the Pratīhāra dominions as late as the 3rd regnal year of his son Mahīpāla I, the date of whose accession cannot be satisfactorily determined, although he must have begun to rule by 814 A.D.<sup>5</sup>

1 *Hist. Beng.*, D.U., vol. I, pp. 102, 182 ff.; cf. *NIA.*, Ross vol., pp. 382 ff.

2 Bhandarkar, No. 1624.

3 Possibly, 9th; cf. *Hist. Beng.*, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

4 Bhandarkar, Nos. 1641-47.

5 Bhandarkar, No. 1086.

There is however absolutely no support in favour of either of the two conjectures. On the other hand there was, even in 1940, some indication that the Pratīhāras were driven out from South Bihar and therefore lost their hold on North Bengal some time before the 54th regnal year of Nārāyaṇapāla (*circa* 854-908 A.D.), which can hardly be placed much later than the date of the death of Mahendrapāla I about 908 A.D. We have epigraphic evidence regarding Nārāyaṇapāla's rule in South Bihar in his 7th, 9th, 17th and 54th regnal years<sup>6</sup>. There is no doubt that Mahendrapāla's success against him in South Bihar and North Bengal should be assigned to a period between the 17th and 54th regnal years of Nārāyaṇapāla. Recent writers on Pāla history place the end of Nārāyaṇapāla's reign between 908 and 911 A.D.<sup>7</sup>, while Pratīhāra Mahīpāla I is believed to have been preceded on the throne by his elder brother Bhoja II who ruled for some time after 908 A.D.<sup>8</sup> South Bihar and North Bengal thus appear to have been lost to the Pratīhāras some time before the 3rd regnal year of Pratīhāra Mahīpāla I. This indication was however completely ignored by Dr. Ganguly. In 1943 I published another inscription of Mahīpāla found in the Tippera District<sup>9</sup>, although unfortunately the paper was very badly printed. This is the Narayanpur image inscription of the 4th regnal year of the king. Even if it is believed that Pratīhāra Mahīpāla I ascended the throne in 908 A.D., it has to be assumed, according to Dr. Ganguly's theory, that the Tippera District formed a part of his dominions at least up to 812 A.D. But it seems extremely unlikely that Nārāyaṇapāla's 54th regnal year, before which the Pratīhāras must have been ousted from South Bihar and lost their hold on North Bengal, came later than the above date.

Unfortunately Dr. Ganguly does not stop with the above theory but develops it in the following way: "There is no evidence to prove that the Pālas before Mahīpāla I ever held sway over the Dacca Division and the Tippera District...The Pālas were rulers of Varendrī, Tirabhukti and Magadha in the early years of the reign of Nārāyaṇapāla. In the latter part of the ninth century, Magadha, Varendrī and possibly East Bengal passed into the hands of Pratīhāra Mahendrapāla

6 Bhandarkar, Nos. 1616-19; *Hist. Beng.*, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

7 *Hist. Beng.*, *op. cit.*, p. 177; Ray, *DHNI.*, vol. I, p. 384.

8 Tripathi, *Hist. Kanauj*, pp. 255 ff.

9 *IC.*, vol. IX, pp. 121-25.

I. About this time the Pālas retired to Tīrabhukti. The Pratihāras appointed a member of the Kamboja family governor of North and West Bengal...Pūrṇacandra, a scion of the royal family of Rohitāgiri, accompanied the Pratihāras to Bengal and got the charge of the administration of the Dacca Division from them. Mahendrapāla's son Mahīpāla maintained intact his father's empire in the early part of his reign. On the decline of the power of the Pratihāras, the Pālas conquered Magadha and the Maldah District in Bengal and the Kambojas and Candras automatically became independent. Mahīpāla (i.e. the Pāla king Mahīpāla I) drove out the Kambojas from North Bengal. East Bengal and West Bengal were not included in his kingdom."

In suggesting that the Candras got the Dacca Division from the Pratihāras, Dr. Ganguly ignored some important facts. The inscriptions<sup>10</sup> of the Candra kings clearly say that they were originally rulers of Candradvīpa, i.e., Bāklā-Candradvīp in the Buckergunge District of South Bengal and that they were the mainstay of the fortune (i. e. the feudatory)<sup>11</sup> of the king of Harikela (i.e. Sylhet)<sup>12</sup>. These facts, together with the total absence of any reference to the Pratihāras in the records of the Candras and the Kambojas, appear to raise a doubt about the plausibility of Dr. Ganguly's theory.

As regards the suggestion that the Pālas were for some time confined to Tīrabhukti (North Bihar), it is rendered unlikely by the inscription of Nārāyaṇapāla's 54th regnal year found at Biharsharif in the Patna District of South Bihar (Magadha). We have also five inscriptions<sup>13</sup>, in South Bihar, of the time of Rājyapāla (*circa* 908-40 A.D.), son of Nārāyaṇapāla. The inscriptions of Rājyapāla's son Gopāla II (*circa* 940-60 A.D.), have similarly been found in the Patna and Gaya Districts.<sup>14</sup> The Jajilpara plate<sup>15</sup>, issued in the 6th regnal year of this king, records the grant of a locality in the Puṇḍra-*vardhana bhukti* (province) which comprised North Bengal and must

10 *Ins. Beng.*, vol. III, pp. 4 ff.; 11 ff.

11 Cf. *IC.*, vol. VII, p. 411. For similar descriptions of feudatories, see *JOR.* vol. XVII, p. 131: *Veṅgi-Cālukya-rājya-mūla-stambha* applied to the Paricchedins.

12 Cf. *IHQ.*, vol. XXI, p. 143.

13 *Hist. Beng.*, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

14 *Ib.*, *loc. cit.*

15 *Bhāratavarṣa*, Śrāvaṇa, B.S. 1344, p. 284.

have formed a part of his dominions. Mahīpāla I was the son of Vīgrahapāla II<sup>16</sup> and grandson of Gopāla II.

The suggestion that West Bengal was outside the dominion of the Pāla king Mahīpāla I seems to go against the evidence of the inscriptions of Rājendra Cola<sup>17</sup>. Rājendra's army is known to have defeated Mahīpāla I *after* subduing Govindacandra of Vaṅgāladeśa and *before* reaching Uttara-Rāḍha. This suggests that the dominion of Mahīpāla I of the Pāla dynasty included North Rāḍha in West Bengal.

Now we come to Dr. Ganguly's statement that there is no evidence of Pāla rule in the Tippera District. By the word 'evidence', he no doubt means unquestionable epigraphic proof, as whatever other indication we have on the point, as shown above, he has totally overlooked. Fortunately we have recently got an inscription dated in the first regnal year of the Pāla king Gopāla II, grandfather of Mahīpāla I, from the Tippera District. This shows beyond doubt the unsoundness of relying on an *argumentum ex silentio*. We have seen above that there is unquestionable evidence regarding the rule of Gopāla II over South Bihar and North Bengal. The new inscription shows that South-East Bengal also formed a part of the dominion of this Pāla king. We have elsewhere<sup>18</sup> shown how the earlier Candra rulers, viz., Pūrṇacandra, his son Suvarṇacandra and his son Trailokyacandra, were subordinate local rulers in the Buckergunge District, and how Trailokyacandra's son Śrīcandra, who flourished in the second half of the tenth century, became an independent ruler of South-East Bengal with his capital at Vikramapura during the latter part of his career. I have also suggested how this Candra ascendancy was temporarily subdued by the Pāla king Mahīpāla I, grandson of Gopāla II, and how it was revived during the later part of Mahīpāla's rule by

16 Dr. R. C. Majumdar is inclined to place the reign of this king in *circa* 960-88 A.D. (*Hist. Beng., op. cit.*, p. 177), while Dr. H. C. Ray assigns to him a short reign of less than a year about 992 A.D. (*DHNI.*, vol. 4, p. 385). In my paper on the newly discovered Bargaon plate of the 17th regnal year of Vīgrahapāla III, I am trying to show that Dr. Majumdar's approach to the problem of the chronology of Vīgrahapāla II and Vīgrahapāla III is wrong. We have quoted in the present note Dr. Majumdar's dates of the Pāla kings, which, however, require modification to fill up the long reign ascribed to Vīgrahapāla II.

17 Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, pp. 229-33; Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 318.

18 *IC.*, vol. VII, p. 410 ff.

Govindacandra. These suggestions are no doubt corroborated by the discovery of the inscription under notice. It proves beyond doubt that the Pālas held South-East Bengal during the early years of the reign of Gopāla II (*circa* 940-60 A.D. according to Majumdar and 935-92 A.D. according to Ray) as well as during the early years of that of his grandson Mahīpāla I (*circa* 988-1038 A.D.). Śrīcandra's independent rule in that region should thus be placed roughly between *circa* 945 and 995 A.D. In this connection, the following observations of Dr. R. C. Majumdar require modification: "Trailokyacandra and his son Śrīcandra are known to have ruled over Harikela with Candradvīpa (comprising roughly the modern district of Bakarganj) as their central seat of authority.....the Candra kingdom even originally comprised both Southern and Eastern Bengal<sup>19</sup>". It would thus appear that during the reigns of Gopāla II and his son and successor Vigrahapāla II, there were three well-defined kingdoms, viz. the Candra kingdom comprising East and South Bengal, the Kamboja-Pāla kingdom comprising North and West Bengal, and the Pāla kingdom proper comprising Aṅga and Magadha<sup>20</sup>. There can be no doubt now that, at least during the early years of the reign of Gopāla II, the Pāla kingdom comprised not only Magadha and Aṅga in South Bihar, but also the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* or North Bengal and Samatāṭa (apparently also Vaṅga or parts of it) in which the Tippera District was situated.

An inscribed image of Gaṇeśa was recently found at the village of Mandhuk under the Chandina Police Station of the Tippera District. The inscription has been published by Mr. N. B. Sanyal in *Varendra Research Society's Monographs*, No. 8, 1950, pp. 4-6, with a Plate. "The image under notice", it is said, "is a four-armed representation of Gaṇeśa executed in full relief on an asymmetrical slab. The pot-bellied deity with an elephant's head is seated on a lotus throne with the left leg drawn up and the right knee raised. In the lower right hand, he holds an elephant's tusk (*danta*). The emblem in the upper right hand is broken; this was evidently a rosary (*akṣa-mālā*) of which traces yet survive. The attribute in the lower left hand is missing. Apparently, it carried a tray of sweets (*modaka-pātra*) to

19 Both the statements are based on a wrong interpretation of the passage *ādhāro*, etc., discussed above.

20 *Hist. Beng., op. cit.*, p. 135.

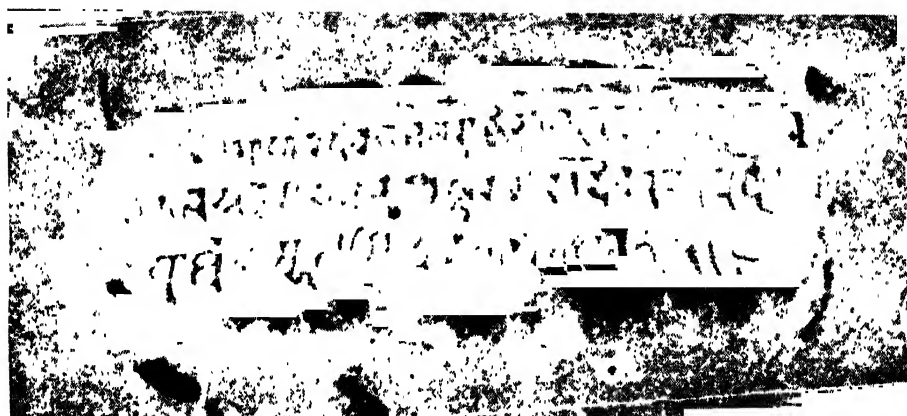
which the deity applied his trunk. This is now mutilated. Also the remaining attribute in the other hand is broken away.....this missing attribute was in all probability a sapling, perhaps representing a sugarcane (*ikṣu-daṇḍa*). The figure is modestly decorated. His coiffure is composed of matted locks. Only a snake-form sacred cord (*nāga-yajñopavīta*) and commonplace jewellery embellish his body. Over his head to the right and the left are flying Vidyādhara in clouds carrying garlands. Below his lotus seat on the pedestal are seen his vehicle (*vāhana*), the rat, effigies of donors and a three line inscription in between. Decorations of the back slab are simple and refined. Besides the Vidyādhara figurines on the top they consist only of a foliated edging lined in by a festoon formed into twists."

The characters of the inscription in three lines may be palaeographically assigned to the tenth century. The language is corrupt Sanskrit as in many other similar records of the Pāla age. There are many errors of both language and orthography.

The inscription is Mahāyāna Buddhist in character. It says that the image in question was the *deva-dharma* that was caused to be made by a *ṛddha-sārtha* named Jambhalamitra for the supreme enlightenment of all creatures headed by his own parents during the first regnal year of the illustrious Gopāladeva. This Gopāla is no doubt the Pāla king Gopāla II. The expression *deva-dharma* and its variant *deya-dharma* are the same as Pāli *deyya-dhamma* meaning a gift or offering. In the epigraphic language, the person responsible for a *deva-dharma* was often called a *dāna-pati* which in old Bengali indicated a person who promised in the name of a god to dedicate an object on the fulfilment of a particular desire of his and later kept that vow called *mānat* or *mānasika*. In many parts of Bengal there is even now the practice of making a *mānat* to offer a special image (earthen, as no stone images are now made) for worship with the hope that the particular god would free the devotee from a danger or affliction. *Deva-dharma* thus seems to refer to an image specially made and worshipped according to a previous promise. Jambhalamitra, as his name and the phraseology of the inscription suggest, was a Buddhist, although the deity installed by him was a Brāhmaṇical Gaṇeśa and not the Buddhist god of that name. The case is exactly the same as in the Narayanpur inscription according to which an image of the Brāhmaṇical god Vināyaka (Gaṇeśa) was installed by







Mandhuk Gaṇeśa Image Inscription of the time of Gopāladeva

the merchant Buddhāmītra, son of Jambhālāmītra an inhabitant of Vilikandhaka in Samatāṭa, during the 4th regnal year of Mahīpāla I. There is no doubt that the family to which these merchants belonged originally followed Buddhism but that it was gradually being merged into the Brāhmaṇical Hindu community. I have often quoted this instance along with other evidences to show the gradual absorption of the Buddhists in Brāhmaṇical society.<sup>21</sup> The Mandhuk inscription now offers another instance of the kind. It is not even improbable that Jambhālāmītra of this inscription is no other than the person of the same name mentioned in the Narayanpur inscription. The word *sārtha* seems to be used in our inscription in the sense of *sārbhavāha* (cf. *vaṇik* in the Narayanpur inscription), i.e. a merchant.<sup>22</sup> It thus seems that this Buddhist family was specially devoted to the Hindu god Gaṇeśa-Vināyaka. The Nārāyanpur Vināyaka holds a radish in the right upper hand, rosary in the right lower, axe in the upper left and sweets in the lower left. The attributes in the hands of the Mandhuk image may be similar.

- (Text)<sup>23</sup> 1. Siddham ||<sup>24</sup> śrī-Gopāladeva-prathama-rāje<sup>25</sup> mātā-pitṛ-  
pūrvāṅgama[ṁ] kṛtv[ā]  
2. sakala-satva-rāse(śeḥ) [anuttara]-jñāna-lābhau<sup>26</sup> deva-dharmo =  
ya[ṁ] vṛ[ddha]-  
3. sārtha-Jambhālāmītreṇa(ṇa) kṛyat[ā]m<sup>27</sup> = iti || Siddham ||<sup>28</sup>

(Trnsl.) Let there be success ! This meritorious offering is caused to be made by the old merchant Jambhālāmītra for the attainment of supreme knowledge by all creatures, headed by his parents, during the first year of the reign of Śrī-Gopāladeva. Let there be success !

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<sup>21</sup> *JRASBL.*, vol. XV, pp. 101-8.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. such contractions as *kaṛaṇa* for *adbikaraṇa* in records like the Midnapur plates of Śaśāṅka.

<sup>23</sup> From the Plate published in *Varendra Research Society's Monograph*, No. 8.

<sup>24</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>25</sup> Read *Jāyja-saṁvatsare* According to the usual epigraphic style, the passage should have been *śrī-Gopāladeva-rājya-saṁvatsare prathame*.

<sup>26</sup> Read *lābhāya*.

<sup>27</sup> Read *kārita iti*.

<sup>28</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

## The Western Gaṅgas and the Cālukya-Pallava Feuds

In the almost coeval rise to power of the Cālukyas in Western Deccan and the Pallavas in Tondaimaṇḍalam in the second half of the sixth century A.D., we can trace the beginnings of "one of the most persistent lines of conflict in South Indian history." The revoking of Kadamba overlordship by Pulakēśin I and the victories of Kīrtivarman I against the Naḷas, Mauryas, Gaṅgas and Kadambas mark the initial stages in the formation of the Deccan wide Cālukyan Empire under Pulakēśin II. With the revival of Pallava power under the Siṃhaviṣṇu line of rulers at Kāñcī towards the last quarter of the same century, it was inevitable that these two empire-seeking powers should come into conflict with each other. "It became almost a law of nature that the kingdoms centred in Karnāṭaka and those centred in the Tamil country should not tolerate each other but keep up an almost perpetual war in which the rulers of the Mysore country and Andhradēśa mingled and took sides, sometimes in their own interests and at others in that of their suzerain." In this Cālukya-Pallava phase of the Karnāṭaka-Tamil feuds the Gaṅgas of Mysore contributed in no little measure to the shifting of the balance of power in favour of the Karnāṭakas.

The circumstances leading to the enunciation of an anti-Pallava policy by the Gaṅgas during the reign of Taḍaṅgala Mādhava (c.A.D. 495-530) have been sketched elsewhere. It was not, however, till the advent on the Gaṅga throne of Mādhava's grandson Durvinīta (A.D. 600-655) that the Gaṅgas found an occasion to actively implement this policy to the great discomfiture of the Kāñcī rulers. The Naḷḷāla grant indicates a war of succession in Gaṅgavāḍi between Avinīta's two sons, Durvinīta and his step brother, either on his death or during the last years of his life. "The goddess of sovereignty was caused to retire for ever with happiness on his (Durvinīta's) broad chest, though she was firmly held within the fold of the arms of his own step brother<sup>2</sup>." This information is corroborated by a statement which occurs in almost all the Gaṅga grants from the seventh century

1 *Journal of the University of Gauhati*, vol. I, No. 1, 1950. Baji, A. R. *A Genealogical Problem in Early Ganga History*, pp. 14-15.

2 *Mysore Archaeological Reports*, 1924.

onwards and which runs as follows: "The Lakṣmī of sovereignty chose to embrace the broad chest of Durvinīta although she was intended by his father, acting on the advice of his guru, for another son<sup>3</sup>." The Pallavas made the situation more difficult for Durvinīta by espousing the cause of his step brother, possibly in an effort to reimpose their overlordship over Gaṅgavāḍi. An undated stone inscription from Siraḡuṇḍa in the Cīkmaḡalur taluq states that Nirvinīta's younger son wrested the Kongāṇi crown from the Kāḍuveṭṭi and Pallava king<sup>4</sup>." This record would lend support to the view that the Kāñcī rulers intervened in the war of succession on behalf of Durvinīta's brother. The early history of Gaṅgavāḍi reveals that this step was in keeping with the traditional Gaṅga policy of the Kāñcī monarchs<sup>5</sup>. But Durvinīta's grandfather Taḍaṅgala Mādhava had already theoretically nullified this policy and Durvinīta would not let the Pallava interference with his right to succession pass off without showing resistance. In him the Kāñcī monarchs found one who would not easily submit to their dictations. On the battle fields of Andari, Alattūr, Porulāre and Pērnagara the Kāñcī rulers paid dearly for their meddlesome attitude<sup>6</sup>. Durvinīta's contemporary on,

3 खदुहगुणानुगामिना पित्रा परसुतसमवाजितयापि कक्ष्याख्यं अभिप्रत्यालिङ्गित विपुलवक्षस्थलः...

4 *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. VI, Cm. 50. There has been some controversy among scholars regarding this inscription. It says that Nirvinīta's younger son assumed the Kongāṇi crown from the Kāḍuveṭṭi and Pallava king. It goes on to add that the discontented brother of this younger son being angry, the people of Nandyaḷa granted him a share in Padevail. There should be little difficulty now in identifying the Nirvinīta of this record with Avinīta since we now have records which refer to the war of succession between Durvinīta and his brother. Since the record belongs to Avinīta's reign the possibility exists of Avinīta having carried out the nomination in his own life time. We know that he had a long reign from A.D. 535 to 600. In the evening of his life he may have chosen to step down from the throne in favour of one of his sons. The choice of his successor was made on the advice of his guru.

5 *Journal of the University of Gauhati*. *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.

6 Hitherto these battles have been assigned by scholars to a later period in Durvinīta's reign during the war against the Pallavas by the joint forces of Durvinīta and Vikramāditya I. This could hardly have been the case as these battles figure as early as the fourth regnal year of Durvinīta (The Penṇaur grant: *Mysore Archaeological Reports*, 1924), whereas the Cāḷukya-Pallava war in which Durvinīta fought on behalf of his grandson Vikramāditya I took place about the year A.D. 654.

the Kāñcī throne was Mahēndravarman I (c.A.D. 600-630). In a learned and well informed article Dr. N. Venkaṭaramanayya develops the thesis that the Pallava opponent of Pulakēśin II during the latter's first expedition against Kāñcī was not Mahēndravarman but Narasiṃhavarman I<sup>7</sup>. If this interpretation is correct then the unnamed opponent of Mahēndravarman on the battle field of Puḷḷalūr figuring in the Kāśakuḍi plates could not have been Pulakēśin II. Mr. T. N. Subramanya Iyer may be right in suggesting that the unnamed opponent of Mahēndravarman was no other than Gaṅga Durvinīta and that Porulāre is the same as Puḷḷalūr and Pērnagara the same as Pērnagar, both in the Conjeevaram taluq of the Chigelpet district<sup>8</sup>. Mr. Iyer's theory would indicate that Durvinīta carried the war into the Pallava territory itself.

The above phase of Gaṅga-Pallava relations has an important bearing on the subject under discussion, for the Pallavas by opposing his succession to the throne forced Durvinīta to seek closer ties with his northern neighbours the Cālukyas of Bādāmi with whom the Gaṅgas till then had only a vague association. The Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Maṅgalēśa would make us believe that Gaṅgavāḍi was brought under Cālukyan overlordship during the reign of Kīrtivarman I<sup>9</sup>. At best, this must have meant only a vague acknowledgment of Cālukyan overlordship. The Aihole record describes the Gaṅgas and the Ālūpas as becoming the constant attendants of Pulakēśin II<sup>10</sup>. This statement has been interpreted to mean a Gaṅga rebellion during the difficult years in Pulakēśin's life when he was busy fighting his uncle Maṅgalēśa for his patrimony<sup>11</sup>. It is possible to lay a different interpretation on the Aihole statement. It could also be construed to mean that the Gaṅgas came to identify themselves more closely with the Cālukyas in the reign of Pulakēśin than before. Of the two, the latter interpretation appears more probable since Durvinīta must have realised the futility of fighting on two fronts simultaneously. The Pallavas had already won his displeasure and therefore he would have

7 Gidugu Venkaṭa Ramamurthi Pantulu Comm. vol.: Venkaṭaramanayya, Dr. N. V.: "Mahēndravarman I and Pulakēśin II."

8 *Ibid.*, p. 102, footnote No. 13.

9 *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIX, p. 16.

10 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. VI.

11 Venkaṭaramanayya, Dr. N. V.: "Durvinīta and Vikramāditya I."—Trivēṇi.

no truck with them. At the same time the logic of the political situation must have demanded his realisation that he could not possibly maintain his independence from Pallava interference for long in view of the latter's aggressive imperialist designs. He must have therefore, made every attempt to forge closer bonds with the Cālukyas. If Dr. N. Venkataramanayya is right in postulating a grandfather-grandson relationship between Durvinīta and Vikramāditya I<sup>12</sup> and there is no reason to doubt the correctness of this interpretation, then we can safely presume that Durvinīta sought an alliance with Pulakēśin by giving his daughter in marriage to the Cālukyan emperor. In acting thus, Durvinīta was only following in the footsteps of his grandfather Tadaṅgala Mādhava who on a previous occasion formed an alliance with the Kadambas against the Pallavas by himself marrying a daughter of Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman.<sup>13</sup>

That this alliance between Durvinīta and Pulakēśin II was aimed against the Kāñcī rulers becomes evident during the closing years of Pulakēśin's reign and the interregnum following his death in A.D. 643. During this period the Cālukyan capital was made to feel the impact of a mighty Pallava invasion led by Narasiṃhavarman I. This was a direct result of Pulakēśin's second invasion of Kāñcī, for it made the Pallava realise that he had to do something to prevent the recurrence of such serious threats to his capital from the northern power. Soon after Hiuen Tsang's visit, Narasiṃha I (A.D. 630-668) led his forces against Vātāpi. The conquest and occupation of Vātāpi is attested by an inscription at Bādāmi in Pallava characters on the walls of the Mallikārjuna temple dated in the thirteenth regnal year of Narasiṃha<sup>14</sup>. As a result of this invasion the Cālukyan kingdom was left disjointed while the feudatories began to throw off the Cālukyan yoke fastened on them by Pulakēśin II. The southern provinces of the empire were lost to the Pallavas. Pulakēśin died in the midst of this war and his son and successor Vikramāditya I had to struggle for a number of years before succeeding to his greatly reduced patrimony. By A.D. 654 he succeeded in regaining possession

12 *Ibid.*,

13 श्रीकदम्बकुल गगन गत्रस्तिमालिनः कृष्णवर्म महाधिराजस्य प्रियभागिनेयस्य जननो.  
अविनीतनामः *Journal of the University of Gauhati, op. cit.*, p. 15.

14 *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IX, p. 99.

of his capital with the aid of his maternal grandfather Durvinīta. The Nagar stone, referring to the part played by Durvinīta in this war, says: "Having captured Kāḍuveṭṭi of Kāñcī, who is celebrated as Rāvaṇa to the earth, and having established his own daughter's son on the hereditary kingdom of Jayasiṃhavallabha, Durvinīta became formidable in the world<sup>15</sup>." The claim of the capture of Kāḍuveṭṭi cannot be substantiated although it is fairly certain that Durvinīta and Vikramāditya together succeeded in driving the Pallava forces out of the Cālukyan capital.

A fifteen year lull followed this contest for supremacy. By the time the Cālukya renewed the contest in A.D. 671 his grandfather Durvinīta passed away and the Gaṅga throne was occupied by Bhūvikrama (A.D. 655-679). Bhūvikrama's Bedirūr grant<sup>16</sup> states that he fought a Pallavanarēndrapati on the battle field of Viḷinda (located in the Tumkur district of the Mysore state). Attempts have been made to identify the Pallava opponent of Bhūvikrama. One such attempt assigns the battle of Viḷinda to the reign of Narasiṃha I<sup>17</sup>. But evidence points to a different conclusion. The Hebbūru, Helleger and British Museum plates<sup>18</sup> state that Bhūvikrama snatched from the Pallava a jewelled necklace. It is perhaps the same as the royal necklace referred to as "Ugrōdaya" which the Pallavas regained possession of from the Gaṅgas during the reign of Nandivarman Pallavamalla<sup>19</sup>. Of the many titles Paramēśvara I assumed one known to us is "Ugradaṇḍa"<sup>20</sup>. There can, therefore, be little doubt as to the correct identity of the Pallava opponent of Bhūvikrama at Viḷinda. He could have been no other than Paramēśvara I (A.D. 670-680). The cause of Paramēśvara's invasion does not find mention either in Gaṅga or Pallava records. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri thinks that Viḷinda was an attempt on the part of Paramēśvara to stop Vikramāditya's invasion in Gaṅgavāḍi itself<sup>21</sup>. But I am inclined to believe

15 *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. VIII, No. 35, part 1, line 250.

16 *Mysore Archaeological Reports*, 1925.

17 Kṛṣṇa Rao, M. V., *The Gaṅgas of Talakāḍ*, p. 47; *Mysore Gazetteer*, vol. 2, p. 630.

18 *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. XII, Tm. 23; vol. III, Md. 113; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIV.

19 *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. 1-2, p. 517.

20 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 12 verse 5, line 1.

21 Sastri, K. A. N., *History of India*, Pt. 1 *Ancient India*, pp. 226-227.

that Viḷinda came after Peruvaḷanallūr and was undertaken as a punitive expedition against Bhūvikrama. When Vikramāditya led his forces against Kāñcī Paramēśvara, unable to offer him battle, fled to the south where he rallied his forces round. In order to divert the Cālukyan armies from his capital he sent an army under General Siruttonḍa to take Vātāpi in Vikramāditya's absence<sup>22</sup>. At the time of this attack on Vātāpi the Karnāṭaka forces at home under the command of the Crown Prince Vinayāditya stood in need of reinforcements because the bulk of the Cālukyan army was away at war in the south. Vinayāditya turned to his Gaṅga ally Bhūvikrama for assistance in meeting this unexpected attack. It would have been impossible for Vinayāditya to have successfully met Siruttonḍa's attack without the help of his Gaṅga kinsman. In rushing aid to the defence of the Cālukyan capital Bhūvikrama incurred the displeasure of Paramēśvara, although Bhūvikrama was only following in the footsteps of Durvīṇita. The campaign of Paramēśvara against Gaṅgavāḍi must have, therefore, been motivated by a desire to chastise the Gaṅga, holding him responsible for the failure of Siruttonḍa's mission. This could have taken place only after Paramēśvara was able to regain his prestige at Peruvaḷanallūr. A reasonable date for the Viḷinda battle would be A. D. 675.<sup>23</sup> In that year Paramēśvara led his forces to

22 Periyapurāṇam: Siruttonḍar, verse 6. The reference to Paramēśvara pressing on the city of Raṇatasika (*South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. 1, p. 12, verse 5, line 1) is to be interpreted as referring to Siruttonḍa's expedition against Vātāpi as Paramēśvara himself could not have led it in person while organising an offensive front on the battle field of Peruvaḷanallūr. Prof. Sastri is right in assigning Siruttonḍa's campaign to Paramēśvara's reign (Sastri: op. cit., p. 227).

23 The Bedirūr grant of Bhūvikrama is dated Śaka 556. This dating is defective for the following reasons. (1) The donee, of the grant describes himself as one Mahāvīra Bhaṭṭa Vikramāditya Gāvunḍa descended in the Bāṇa family through Bāṇa Vidyādhara, Prabhumēru, Vijayāditya, Prabhumēru and Māra. These Bāṇa kings can easily be identified with Vikramāditya I, Vijayāditya II, Vijayāditya III. Dr. T. V. Mahalingam assigns the dates A.D. 850-895, 895-910 to the first two (*Journal of Indian History*, vol. XXIX, Pt. 2, August 1951, serial No. 86, p. 165). Belonging as these kings do to the second half of the ninth century and the first of the tenth, their descendant Mahāvīra Bhaṭṭa Vikramāditya Gāvunḍa could hardly have been a contemporary of Bhūvikrama who flourished in the second half of the seventh century. (2) The donee describes himself as the lord of the Kōlār region. The Bāṇas came into possession of this ancestral region only during the reign of Sripuruṣa (A.D. 725-778) (see page 66



*Viṇḍa where the battle was joined with the Gaṅga army under the personal command of Bhūvikrama. Describing the course of the battle Gaṅga grants state: "Bhūvikrama who conquered the Pallavanarendrapati in a terrible battle of Viṇḍa..... brought into subjection the whole of his territory and seized his jewelled necklace." Since we do not have any evidence relating to the Pallava side of the story it is difficult to assess the value of these Gaṅga claims. But there can be little doubt that Bhūvikrama succeeded in breaking the back of the Pallava invasion and in capturing the Pallava royal necklace. Depletion and sheer exhaustion in Pallava ranks due to incessant wars with the Cālukyas and the Pāṇḍyas must have been a contributing factor in the success of Bhūvikrama. The Hellegere plates would make us believe that one of the commanders on the Pallava side was the Crown Prince Narasiṃhavarman II. His sons Jayapallavādhirāja and Vṛddhipallavādhirāja were probably taken prisoners by Bhūvikrama.<sup>24</sup>*

The Cālukya-Pallava feuds were revived some fifty years later by Vikramāditya II (A. D. 733-744). An undated inscription at Paṭṭadakal describes one Lōkamahādēvi as the queen of Vikramāditya "who thrice overran Kāñcī."<sup>25</sup> This information regarding the second Cālukyan monarch of that name is corroborated by the Vokkeleri and Kendūru plates of Kīrtivarman II.<sup>26</sup> The causes of these campaigns and the Cālukya trying to pay the Pallava back in his own coin by leaving an inscription on the walls of the Kailāsanatha temple at Kāñcī are truly speaking aspects of regular Cālukyan

of this paper; *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. X, K1. 235; Mahalingam, *op. cit.*, p. 168). I am inclined to believe that the donative part of the Bedūr grant belongs to a much later period than that of Bhūvikrama. (3) Durvinita lived till the year A.D. 655 because in A.D. 654 he assisted his grandson Vikramāditya I to regain possession of Vātāpi. Between Durvinita and Bhūvikrama two eventless reigns of Muṣkara and Śrīvikrama intervene and assigning a period of ten years to cover these reigns we may assign the beginning of Bhūvikrama's reign to A.D. 665. The last year of the reign could be fixed with the aid of the Hellegere plates issued in the thirty fourth regnal year of his successor Śivamāra I and dated in Śaka 65. This would make the year A.D. 679 the last year of the reign.

<sup>24</sup> *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. III, Md. 113. These plates record a grant by Bhūvikrama at the request of the two Pallava princes referred to as the two dear sons of the Pallava Yuvarāja. Their presence in Gaṅgavāḍi cannot be explained in any other satisfactory manner than the one indicated above.

<sup>25</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, vol. X, pp. 164-165.

and Pallava histories. The student of Gaṅga history is concerned with one of these invasions led by Vikramāditya himself in A. D. 740. An inscription in the Tumkur district refers to the capture of a village in Noḷambavāḍi by Vikramādityarasar and Konguniarasar.<sup>27</sup> The Konguniarasar of this record is no other than Śrīpuruṣa (A. D. 725-778). A viragal at Hire Madhure refers to the death of one Dāsīaman, servant of Konguniarasar, during the capture of Kāñcī by Vikramādityarasar<sup>28</sup>. A strong force was despatched under Duggamāra Ereyappa to Kampili on the Tungabhadra to guard the Cālukyan lines of communication<sup>29</sup>. All these records indicate the active participation of the Gaṅga monarch in Vikramāditya's campaign in A. D. 740. This is indirectly substantiated by the name of the village Śrī Puruṣamaṅgalam in the North Arcot district. From the Tumkur record it seems fairly certain that the two armies joined forces in Noḷambavāḍi and from there proceeded to Kāñcī.<sup>30</sup> No further details are available to us for assessing the part played by Śrīpuruṣa in the conquest and occupation of Kāñcī by Vikramāditya. The fact of his having participated in it is, however, proved and this has an important bearing on Gaṅga-Pallava relations during the closing years of Śrīpuruṣa's reign.

During these years the Gaṅga kingdom was invaded in full force by the Pallava ruler Nandivarman Pallavamalla (A.D. 725-788). The motives of the Kāñcī ruler are not far to seek. The participation of Śrīpuruṣa in the Cālukyan invasion of Kāñcī was still rankling in the mind of Nandivarman and the retention of the Ugrōdaya by the Gaṅga gave him a convenient excuse to seek revenge. He was joined by his Bāṇa subordinates<sup>31</sup>. Strangely enough this time also the battle was joined at Viḷinda with the Gaṅga forces under the

26 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. III, p. 360. *Ibid.*, vol. IX, p. 200.

27 *Mysore Archaeological Reports*, 1941, p. 220, No. 45.

28 *Ibid.*, 1939.

29 *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. IX, Ht. 21; *Ibid.*, vol. X, Mb. 225.

30 It was during this campaign that Noḷambavāḍi was brought under Gaṅga overlordship. This is confirmed by Noḷamba Simhapōta figuring as the subordinate of Śrīpuruṣa's successor Śivamāra II. The Noḷamba ruler at the time of the annexation was Simhapōta's father Maṅgala.

31 *Madras Epigraphy Reports*, 1921, No. 154; 1903, No. 229; 1933, No. 164 & *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. X, p. 13.

command of General Siyagella<sup>32</sup> who distinguished himself in the late war against the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa I. He was ably assisted by his younger brother Duggamāra Ereyappa<sup>33</sup>. The Nagar stone<sup>34</sup> claims a resounding victory for Śrīpuruṣa when it states that the Gaṅga snatched the Pallava umbrella and the title Pērmānaḍi from the Kāñcī ruler. But these claims cannot hold water when we examine the other side of the medal. The Bāṇa subordinate of the Pallava was rewarded with the Gaṅga 6000 province which must have been annexed to the Pallava empire<sup>35</sup>. Further, Nandivarman Pallavamalla succeeded in regaining possession of the Ugrōdaya from the Gaṅga<sup>36</sup>. Thus it is almost certain that victory rested with the Pallava this time<sup>37</sup>.

32 *Mysore Archaeological Reports*, 1917. The Hūṅguṇḍaga records.

33 *Ibid.*, 1917: *The Nekkūṇḍi record & Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. IX, Ht. 21, 22.

34 *Ibid.*, vol. VIII, Nr. 35.

35 *Madras Epigraphy Reports*, 1933, No. 164, 1903, No. 229. We note that this province (Gaṅga 6000) was in the thirty-fourth regnal year of Śrīpuruṣa being governed by his son Duggamāra (*Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. X, Mb. 80, 225 and Sp. 57). After its annexation to the Pallava empire it came under the Bāṇas who continued to hold sway even in the time of Nandivarman III (*Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. X, Kl. 235. Bp. 48 & *Madras Epigraphy Reports*, 1912, No. 323).

36 *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. 12, p. 517; The Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates.

37 It has been argued that Śrīpuruṣa passed away in the course of this war. (Sarma, Somasekhara: *The Later Pallavas*, pp. 119-120 in the G. V. Ramanurthy Comm. Vol.) Mr. Sarma suggests that Gangadiyarāyar Kānnāḍu Peṇṅgangar of an inscription from Kulidikki in the Wandiwash taluq (*Madras Epigraphy Reports*, 1921, No. 154) is the same as Gaṅga Śrīpuruṣa. But this identification is untenable for the following reasons: (1) the hero of the Kulidikki record is referred to as the chief of Karakattūru and not even remotely can this be taken to be a reference to Śrīpuruṣa. (2) We observe a clear distinction between the hero of the record and Śrīpuruṣa in the statement that Gangadiyarāyar died on the day of the Pallava expedition against Pērmānaḍigal (Śrīpuruṣa). (3) The chief of Karakattūru is said to have fought at the behest of his uncle Vānarāyar, evidently a Bāṇa chief. We have already shown how the Bāṇas figure in this war on the side of the Pallava and against Śrīpuruṣa. (4) The record is dated in the 52nd. regnal year of Nandivarman which according to Mr. Sarma's date for Nandivarman works out at A.D. 775. Śrīpuruṣa could not have died in that year since we see him making a grant in Śaka 698 (A.D. 776) (The Dēvarahaḷḷi record: *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. IV, Ng. 85). Moreover it is difficult to reconcile Mr. Sarma's thesis with what the Nagar stone and the Narasiṃharāja-pura plates have to say. The former (*Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. VIII, No. 35)

This Śrīpuruṣa-Nandivarman contest represents the concluding phase of Gaṅga participation in Cāḷukya-Pallava feuds. Towards the middle of the eighth century the Cāḷukyas were replaced in the Deccan by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkēḍ and with the emergence of this new power in the Deccan the Gaṅgas changed their policy towards their northern neighbours to one of active opposition to Rāṣṭrakūṭa hegemony. What effect this had on the Gaṅga policy towards the Kāñcī rulers will be dealt with in a subsequent paper.

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states that Śrīpuruṣa snatched the Pallava umbrella and the title Peṁmānadi from the Kāñcī ruler. The latter (*Mysore Archaeological Reports*, 1919) refers to the acquisition of the title Bhimakōpa by Śrīpuruṣa at the end of the wars of his reign. Thus it is almost certain that Śrīpuruṣa survived the battle of Viḷinda but died soon after the event, exhausted as he was with incessant fighting all through his life. Mr. Sarma ably points out that the coronation of his successor Śivamāra II was performed by Gōvinda II and Nandivarman Pallavamalla. This event could not have taken place later than A.D. 780 since by that year Gōvinda II was replaced on the Malkhēḍ throne by Dhruva. It could not have taken place earlier than A.D. 776 since we see Śrīpuruṣa making a grant in that year. Thus we have to place the close of Śrīpuruṣa's reign between the years A.D. 776 and 780. We may assign it to A.D. 778. If this assignment is correct then Mr. Sarma's theory that Śrīpuruṣa died in the Pallava war cannot be maintained. A newly discovered epigraph from Uḷchala in the Kurnool district (*Ancient India*, No. 5, January 1949) provides fresh data on which later Pallava chronology beginning with the reign of Nandivarman Pallavamalla can now be put on a definite basis. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri has already attempted to do so in the course of a learned article in the *Mm. D. V. Potdar Commemoration Volume*. According to him the accession of Nandivarman Pallavamalla must now be placed in the year A.D. 731. The date of the Kulidīkki record will then have to be assigned to the year A.D. 783. Śrīpuruṣa was alive till that year. Under the revised Pallava chronology necessitated by the Uḷchala record, Mr. Sarma's thesis that it was Gōvinda II who along with Nandivarman Pallavamalla participated in the coronation of Śivamāra II, the son and successor of Śrīpuruṣa, becomes untenable. Dhruva was by this time the reigning monarch in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom and Śivamāra's contemporary could be no other than Gōvinda III who came to the throne in A.D. 793. Nandivarman Pallavamalla was alive till that year as we have a record dated in his 65th regnal year which falls in the year A.D. 796. This makes it certain that Śrīpuruṣa was alive till at least A.D. 793 and we have an epigraph from Halkūr in the Sira taluq (*MAR.*, 1918, p. 44) which is dated A.D. 788 and which refers itself to the reign of Śrīpuruṣa. Thus it will be seen that Śrīpuruṣa could not have been the hero of the Kulidīkki record who died in the Gaṅga-Pallava war that took place in A.D. 783. Śrīpuruṣa must have died sometime between A.D. 793 and 796.

## Simuka, Satakarni, Sātavāhana

The sudden collapse of the Maurya Empire after the death of the great Aśoka in about 236 B.C. made possible the rise of Khāravela in Kalinga; the Śuṅgas in Magadha and Mālava; the Mitra kings in northern India, eastern Rajputana and the western Gangetic doab<sup>1</sup>; and the Sātavāhanas in the Deccan and the Western India. The problems connected with the rise and early history of the Sātavāhanas and their contemporaries have given rise to various controversies. The history of the Sātavāhanas is one of the most discussed subjects in ancient Indian history in which yet no final conclusions have been reached. It is mainly because of the insufficiency of the material available on the subject. The Purāṇic evidence does not often respond favourably to scientific criticism. The inscriptions on the subject are so incomplete, so few, so short and often so badly mutilated that they fail to make chronological history. The Sātavāhana coins have helped to fill many gaps, but as no dates are inscribed on them, their value for the history of the Sātavāhanas is very much reduced.

The discovery by me at Tewar, ancient Tripuri, in the Jabalpur District, of two coins of the Sātavāhana Sātakarṇi I has provided me with substantial evidence to re-examine the early history of the Sātavāhanas and to reconstruct the genealogy of the family. The two coins are being published by me in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*<sup>2</sup>. Three coins of king Sātavāhana have also been recently published. Though I do not agree<sup>3</sup> with the views of Prof. Mirashi<sup>4</sup> with regard to the age and attribution of these coins, they are of no less importance for the Sātavāhana history. It is in the light of this new material that the old evidence is re-interpreted and the history of the Sātavāhanas reconstructed.

According to the Purāṇas Śiśuka (Matsya), Sindhuka (Vayu) or Śipraka (Viṣṇu) was the founder<sup>5</sup> of the (so-called Andhra) Sāta-

1 Coins of a number of Mitra Kings have been discovered in Eastern Rāj-pūtānā and the U.P.

2 Vol. XIII, pp. 35 ff.

3 *AHQ.*, XXVII, pp. 210 ff.

4 *INSI.*, vol. VII, p. 3, vol. XI, p. 5, vol. VIII, p. 10 fn. 2.

5 He is called Cismaka in *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Vṛṣṭobali* in *Bhāgavata*.

vāhana dynasty<sup>6</sup>. The Purāṇas say: Sindhuka (Simuka) of the Andhra race and a servant of the Kāṇva family, having by force destroyed Suśarman and whatever will have been left of the Śuṅga's army, will obtain this earth<sup>7</sup>. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar translated the above passage as "A servant of the race of the Andhras, having destroyed whatever will have been left of the power of the Śuṅgas, will obtain possession of the earth<sup>8</sup>." This statement of the Purāṇas has given rise to a good deal of controversy. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar was of the opinion that since Simuka overthrew both the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas, the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas were contemporaries<sup>9</sup>. This is supported by the fact that the Kāṇvas are called the servants of the Andhras in some of the Purāṇas<sup>10</sup>. Smith suggested that according to the duration of the Andhra dynasty given in the Purāṇas, Simuka could not be the Andhra king who overthrew and killed Suśarman, the Kāṇva<sup>11</sup>. But Dr. Raichowdhury thinks that the Kāṇvas followed the Śuṅgas, and the Andhras came after the Kāṇvas in chronological sequence<sup>12</sup>. If Simuka was a servant of the Kāṇvas, and if he overthrew both the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas, they could not be far removed from one another. But how far this chronology given in the Purāṇas can be accepted it is difficult to say. ✓Palaographically the Nānāghāt inscription of queen Nāyanikā may be assigned to the first half of the second century B.C.<sup>13</sup> and the Nāsik inscription of Kanha, successor of Simuka, according to Bühler may be placed "in the beginning of the second century B.C."<sup>14</sup> A comparison of the characters of the Nānāghāt inscription and that of Kanha at Nāsik with those of Daśaratha, the Maurya, amply supports Bühler's opinion that these records may be placed not

6 Pargiter: *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 38.

7 The different readings in the different Purāṇas are given by Pargiter: *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 38, fn. 2.

8 काण्वायनस्त (नं तो) भृत्यः सुशमोणं प्रसह्यतम् ।  
शुङ्गानां चैव यच्छेषं क्षयायत्वा बलं तदा ।  
सिंधुकी ह्यन्ध्रजातीयः प्राप्स्यतीमां वसुधराम् ॥

*Bom. Gaz.*, vol. I, pt. I, p. 163, fn. 1. A slightly different version is given elsewhere (*JIH.*, vol. XXVII, p. 244).

9 *Bom. Gaz.*, vol. I, pt. I, p. 163.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 163.

11 *EHL.*, pp. 216-224.

12 *PHAL.* (5th Edn.), p. 403.

13 *ASWI.*, vol. V, p. 98; Rapson: *BMCC.*: *AK.* p. xix.

14 *ASWI.*, vol. V, p. 98; *EL.*, vol. VIII, p. 93; pl. VI, 22.

much later than the edicts of Aśoka and Daśaratha<sup>15</sup>. The paleographic evidence here is more substantial than the traditional account of the Purāṇas; and if the two conflict, the latter has to be rejected. If the Nānāghāt inscription belongs to the first half of the second century B.C. and the Nāsik inscription of Kṛṣṇa to the beginning of the second century B.C., it may be suggested that Simuka began his reign in about 200 B.C.

Sindhuka or Śisuka of the Purāṇas has been identified with Simuka Sātavāhana of the Nānāghāt reliev inscription<sup>16</sup>. Simuka was the founder of the Sātavāhana dynasty. As I have already shown elsewhere<sup>17</sup> that Prof. Mirashi's view that King Sātavāhana of the coins, and not Simuka, was the founder<sup>18</sup> of the dynasty cannot be accepted. While making his suggestion, Prof. Mirashi proposed that King Sātavāhana belonged to "the last quarter of the third century B.C.<sup>19</sup>" and "to the same age as the Nānāghāt inscription<sup>20</sup>", which are obviously contradictory. His argument was mainly based on the paleographic considerations, but I have already shown in a previous paper of mine that it is on paleographic grounds only that the coins of king Sātavāhana have to be assigned to a later date than that of the Nānāghāt inscription. Therefore, I have concluded (that King Sātavāhana of the coins did not precede but followed Simuka.<sup>21</sup> I have on the other hand suggested that Sātavāhana of the coins is no other than prince Sātavāhana of the Nānāghāt reliev inscription<sup>22</sup> and that Sātavāhana succeeded Sātakarṇi I, son of Simuka.) Simuka was followed by his brother Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa of the Purāṇas has been identified with Kanha of the Sadavāhana (Sātavāhana) family mentioned in a Nāsik inscription.<sup>23</sup> Kṛṣṇa, as the Purāṇas say, was followed by his son Sātakarṇi (Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa and Viṣṇu) or Śrī Sāntakarṇa (Bhāgavata) or Śrī Mallakarṇi (Matsya). It has been suggested by some scholars that Sātakarṇi was not son of Kṛṣṇa but that of Simuka, because if he was the son of Kṛṣṇa his name

15 *ASWI.*, vol. V, p. 71.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 64, pl. LI., No. 3; *Rāyā Simuka Sātavāhanī śrinato.*

17 *IHQ.*, vol. XXVII, pp. 213-14.

18 *JNSI.*, vol. VII, p. 3; vol. VIII, p. 19, fn. 3; vol. XI, p. 5.

19 *JNSI.*, vol. VII, p. 3.

20 *Ibid.*, vol. XI, p. 5.

21 *IHQ.*, vol. XXVII, pp. 213-14.

22 *Ibid.*, *ASWI.*, vol. V, p. 64.

23 *El.*, vol. VIII, p. 63, Pl. VI, 22.

would not have been omitted from the relievo figures when those of both Simuka and Sātakarṇi are included.<sup>24</sup> But it may be pointed out against this view that prince (Vediśrī, son of queen Nāyanikā, who is given such importance so as to be offered salutations along with other gods in the beginning of the Nānāghāt inscription, finds no place in the relievo figures.<sup>25</sup>) The statement of the Purāṇas, which so badly confuse the Sātavāhana genealogy and chronology, cannot be accepted. Kṛṣṇa was omitted from the family group in the Nānāghāt cave for the simple reason that he did not belong to the direct line of the family. It may be that after the death of Simuka he might have usurped the throne from the son of Simuka; the usurpation being made possible and accomplished easily because of the minority of the sons of Simuka.<sup>26</sup> I say the sons of Simuka because I have suggested below that Simuka had more than one son. This view is supported by the fact that Vediśrī is mentioned as *Kumāra-varasa* in the beginning of the inscription, but later as one of the sons of the queen. Mr. H. Krishna Sāstri was not correct when he proposed the reading *Khaṇḍasiri* in the Nānāghāt inscription in place of Vediśrī read by Bühler. The reading *Vedisiri* is absolutely certain.<sup>27</sup> From the Nānāghāt inscription it is clear that Vediśrī occupied a position of secondary importance to the queen; but (from the salutations offered to him it is certain that the husband of the queen was dead and that her son Vediśrī had ascended the throne.) Vediśrī at the time of his accession to the throne was a minor. Therefore, the queen figures prominently in the inscription by virtue of being the Regent.<sup>28</sup> If Vediśrī is also not included in the family group in the Nānāghāt relievo figures it was probably because he

24 *PHAL.*, (5th Edn.), p. 415. fn. 1; *JH.*, vol. XXVII, p. 250.

25 *ASWL.*, vol. V, p. 60.

26 Bühler suggested that Kṛṣṇa usurped the throne after the death of Simuka. I differ from him when he says that the usurpation took place during the minority of Sātakarṇi I. *ASWL.*, vol. V, p. 71.

27 *ASLAR.*, 1923-23, pp. 88-89: I have carefully examined the photograph of the Nānāghāt inscription which was kindly supplied to me by Shri N. Lakshminarayan Rao, Superintendent for Epigraphy, and I find that the reading *Vedisiri* by Bühler in lines 1 and 4 of the inscription is perfectly correct. There is no possibility whatsoever of a different reading or that of *Khaṇḍasiri* proposed by Shri H. Krishna Sāstri.

28. *ASWL.*, vol. V, p. 60; *Ls.* 1, 2 & 4.



was also dead at the time the relievo figures were set up. It appears that he was violently overthrown by Kṛṣṇa. It was probably for this reason that Kṛṣṇa styles himself simply as 'of the Sadavāhana family'<sup>29</sup> in the Nāsik inscription. It has been pointed out by Bühler that the queen was a widow at the time the Nānāghāt inscription was composed. This is evident, as he thinks, from the enumeration of the queen's virtues in the inscription. She is said to have been living "(even) in her home like an ascetic' (*gabatāpasa*) and remained 'chaste (*caritabrahma-cāriya*)'. Bühler thinks that "such behaviour befits a widow only, not a wife whose husband is living." He is perfectly correct when he says that "the two epithets *gabatāpasa* and *caritabrahmacāriya* clearly indicate that the king was dead."<sup>30</sup> In that case the conclusion that the widowed queen ruled during the minority of her son, and that that son was Vediśrī, follows from the *namaskāras* addressed to him."<sup>31</sup> Dr. Raichowdhury agrees with Bühler in so far as the queen was "proclaimed regent during the minority of the princes Vediśrī (? Khaṇḍaśrī or Skandaśrī) and Śaktiśrī (*Sati-Sirimato*) or Hakuśrī."<sup>32</sup> I have already shown above that this view does not find support from the evidence discussed by me here.

If at all Kṛṣṇa occupied the throne after overthrowing Vediśrī by violent means, his stay was short-lived. According to the relievo figures, it appears that the king who followed him on the throne was no other than Sātakarṇi I. This is because Kṛṣṇa and Vediśrī are both not included in the relievo figures; the first because of being an usurper and the second on account of his death as a minor. If Simuka is included in the family group, it was because he was the founder of the dynasty. It is for this reason that the salutations in the beginning of the Nānāghāt inscription were made to *Kumāravarasa* Vediśrī.<sup>33</sup> The donor of the inscription has been identified with the queen Nāyanikā of the relievo inscription. Nāyanikā was thus the wife of the king whose name ended in.....*sirisa*<sup>34</sup>. The name of Sātakarṇi in the relievo figure inscription or anywhere else does not end in *siri*<sup>35</sup>. Therefore, there is no possibility of identifying him

29 *Sadavāhanekule kanbe rajini. El.*, vol. VIII, p. 93.

30 *ASWI.*, vol. V, p. 67.

32 *PHAL.*, (5th Edn.), p. 417.

34 *Ibid.*, p. 60, l. 4.

31 *Ibid.*

33 *ASWI.*, vol. V, p. 60, l. 1.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 64, No. 4.

with the *Dakṣiṇāpathapatino* whose name ended in *siri* in the Nānāghaṭ inscription and whose *bhāriya* was Nāyanikā. On the other hand, the name of Simuka in the relievo inscription ends in Śrī, *Rāyā Simuka Sātavāhano sirimato ca*<sup>36</sup>. Therefore, *Dakṣiṇāpathapatino...sirisa* of the Nānāghaṭ inscription is the same as *Rāyā Simuka sirimato* of the relievo inscription. This makes Simuka the husband of Nāyanikā and Sātakarṇi her son. This relationship between Simuka, Nāyanikā and Sātakarṇi is amply supported by the evidence of the coins and the inscriptions.

A number of coins of Śrī Sāta has been published<sup>37</sup>. Rapson<sup>38</sup>, and following him Dr. Altekar, identify Śrī Sāta of some of the coins with Sātakarṇi I, but Prof. Mirashi<sup>39</sup> identifies him with Sātavāhana of the coins published by him. This Sātavāhana of the coins according to Prof. Mirashi was the founder of the family and as such the predecessor of Simuka. The view of Prof. Mirashi, as I have already stated above, cannot be accepted. Two coins of Śrī Sāta and one of Śrī Sātakarṇi have been recently published by me in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society*. I have already shown from the legend *Siri Sātisa* on one of them that Śrī Sāta and Śrī Sāti of the coins were the variations of the abbreviation of the same name, Śrī Sātakarṇi. The coin with the legend *Raño Siri Sātisa* is exactly similar in type, fabric, symbols, shape and the form of the characters to another coin with the legend *Raño Siri Sātakanisa* published by me. The only conclusion that may be drawn from this is that Śrī Sāti or Sāta and Śrī Sātakarṇi were the two forms of the name of the same person<sup>40</sup>. This further disproves Mirashi's identification of Śrī Sāta with Sātavāhana occurring on other coins<sup>41</sup>. ✓ Sāta or Sātakarṇi of the coins may be identified with Sātakarṇi of the Nānāghaṭ relievo inscription on paleographic grounds, since the characters on the coins do not differ from those of the Nānāghaṭ inscription. *Sātakanino* of the Nānāghaṭ relievo inscription and *Sātakanisa* of the coins are the

36 *ASWI*, vol. V, p. 64, No. 3.

37 Rapson: *BMCC.*: *AK*. p. 1; *JNSI*, vol. IV, p. 28; vol. XII, pp. 94 ff.; vol. XIII, pp. 35 ff.

38 *BMCC.*: *AK.*, p. 1.

39 *Ibid.*, vol. VII, p. 3; vol. VIII, p. 19, fn. 3; vol. XI, p. 5.

40 *Ibid.*, vol. XIII, pp. 37 ff.

41 *Ibid.*, vol. VII, p. 3; vol. VIII, p. 19, fn. 3; vol. XI, p. 5.

genitive singular forms of *Sātakarṇi*. *Sātisa*, *Satino* and *Sātasa* are genitive forms of the variants *Sāti*, *Sati* and *Sāta* which are the abbreviations of *Sātakarṇi*.<sup>42</sup> In the Nānāghāt inscription Nāyanikā is called the mother of princes Vediśrī and Sati (*Vedisiri-mātu Satino Sirimatasa ca mātuya*)<sup>43</sup>. As *Sātisa*, *Satino* and *Sātasa* are the genitive singular forms of the variants *Sāti*, *Sati* and *Sāta*, Sati of the Nānāghāt inscription should be identical with *Sāti* of the coin published by me and with *Sāta* of some other coins. Since *Sāti* and *Sāta* of the coins are the same as *Sātakarṇi* of the coins<sup>44</sup> and the Nānāghāt inscription, *Sati* of the Nānāghāt inscription may be identified with *Sātakarṇi* of the relievo inscription in Nānāghāt cave and the coins.

*Sātakarṇi* was, therefore, the son and not the husband of queen Nāyanikā; Vediśrī was his elder brother and Simuka his father. This also disproves the identification of Sati with Śaktiśrī (Śaktikumāra, son of Śālivāhana) of the legends<sup>45</sup>. The argument that *Satino* was the Prākṛta corruption of Śakti and which in its corrupt form Hakuśrī is mentioned in the relievo figure inscription becomes far-fetched and conjectural. Śakti changing into Sati into Haku, or as both Sati and Haku does not appear to be probable. Hakuśrī appears to have been commonly adopted as a name<sup>46</sup> in those times.

It appears that *Sātakarṇi* was also a minor when the minor prince Vediśrī died and, therefore, on his accession to the throne his mother Nāyanikā became the regent. Bühler's suggestion that Vediśrī was the younger brother of *Sātakarṇi* cannot be accepted in view of the precedence given to Vediśrī over Sati or *Sātakarṇi* in the Nānāghāt inscription. If *Sātakarṇi* was older than Vediśrī, it would mean *Sātakarṇi* was dead at the time of the Nānāghāt inscription. This would mean that the relievo of the queen was put up with a person who was dead, a situation which so obviously seems improbable. The absence of the relievo figure of Vediśrī from the family group also cannot be satisfactorily explained. It was because of the minority of *Sātakarṇi* that the relievo of Nāyanikā was placed along with him and that the

42 *ASWI.*, vol. V, p. 60.

43 *JNSI.*, vol. XIII, pp. 35 ff.

44 *Ibid.*, p. 68; *CHI.*, vol. I, p. 531; *PHAI.* (5th Edn.), p. 7.

45 *El.*, vol. VIII, p. 93, pl. VI. 22.

inscription reads "Of Devi Nāyanikā and of king Sātakarṇi" (*Devi Nāyanikāya raño ca siri Sātakaṇino*)<sup>46</sup>. If she was the queen of Sātakarṇi, ordinarily her name could not have preceded that of the king, her husband; because queens are not given precedence over the reigning kings in India. The Sātavāhanas did give precedence to mothers which is borne out by the fact that names of the Sātavāhana kings had metronymic prefixes. Queen Nāyanikā was the daughter of Mahārāṭhi Tranakayira of the relievo inscription<sup>47</sup>. She belonged to the Aṅgiya<sup>48</sup> or *Aṁbbiya-kula*<sup>49</sup>. It appears that Mahārāṭhi Tranakayira during this period of distress and turmoil for the Sātavāhanas remained with Nāyanikā in order to help her in safeguarding the empire not only against another usurpation, but also against the possible incursion of Khāravela, who claims to have sent expeditions in the directions of the Sātavāhana empire more than once and takes credit for having defied Sātakarṇi<sup>50</sup>. Kumāras Bhāya and Hakuśrī<sup>51</sup> of the relievo inscriptions belonged to the *Aṅgiya-kula* and were probably brothers of Nāyanikā. The mention of Hakuśrī belonging to the *Aṅgiya-kula* in another inscription<sup>52</sup> supports the opinion expressed by me that Hakuśrī of the relievo figure was not a Sātavāhana but an Aṅgiya prince. *Kumāra Sātavāhana*<sup>53</sup>, as already shown above, is no other than Sātavāhana of the coins<sup>55</sup>. There could be nothing far-fetched than Bühler's identification of Vediśrī with prince Sātavāhana and as such, with Purnotsaṅga of the Purāṇas. The coins of king Sātavāhana and the identification proposed by me above finally disprove Bühler's identification. Sātavāhana seems to have been a younger brother of Sātakarṇi and ascended the throne after the death of his elder brother.

46 *ASWI.*, vol. V, p. 64, No. 4.

47 *ASWI.*, vol. V, No. 6, p. 64.

48 *Ibid.*, p. 60.

49 *ASIAR.*, 1923-24, p. 88.

50 *IHQ.*, vol. XIV, pp. 475-76.

51 *ASWI.*, vol. V, p. 64, Nos. 5 & 7.

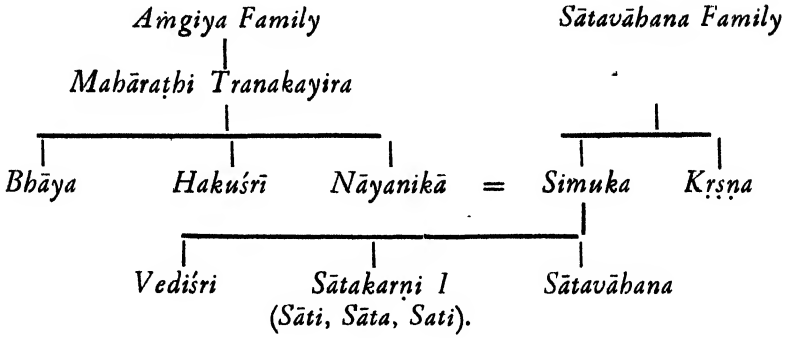
52 *El.*, vol. VIII, p. 91.

53 *ASWI.*, vol. V, p. 64, No. 8.

54 *Ibid.*,

55 *IHQ.*, vol. XXVII, p. 213.

The genealogy of the early Sātavāhanas in the light of the evidence discussed above may now be reconstructed as given below.



It is not my purpose to examine the problem of the Sātavāhana chronology here. I hope to discuss this in a separate article later. I may only suggest here that paleographically the coins of Śrī Sāti and Śrī Sātakarṇi published by me may be assigned to the first half of the second century B.C. The form of *ta* on the coin of Śrī Sāti with a slanting line joined to a vertical is not different from that of the same letter in the legend *Tipuri* on a new Tripurī coin being published by me<sup>56</sup>. I have assigned the Tripurī coin to the second half of the third century B.C. If Sātakarṇi ruled in the first half of the second century B.C., Simuka must have flourished towards the close of the second half of the third century B.C. since between Simuka and Sātakarṇi, there ruled Kṛṣṇa, Vediśrī as a minor and Sātakarṇi. The Purāṇas assign 23 years to Simuka, 18 to Kṛṣṇa and 10 or 18 to Sātakarṇi. It appears that immediately after the death of Aśoka, Simuka founded the Sātavāhana empire in the southern part of the Mauryan empire. The fortunes of the Mauryas after Aśoka were sunk very low and they were not only not able to hold their empire intact, but were so reduced to complete financial bankruptcy that they were compelled to arrange public worship of the images for gold<sup>57</sup>.

56 *JNSI.*, vol. XIII, pp. 35 ff.; pp. 40 ff.

57 *Mahābhāṣya*, V, iii 2, 99-106. जीवकार्थे चापरये ॥६६॥ अपरये इत्युच्यते तत्वेदं न सिध्यति । शिवः स्कन्दो विशाख इति । किं कारणं । मौर्यैर्हिंरयया विभिरच्याः प्रकल्पिता, भवेत्तासु न स्यात् । यास्त्वेताः संप्रति पूजार्थास्तासु भविष्यति ॥

Any authority that is reduced to this state of financial helplessness is bound to be ignored and broken. Simuka, taking advantage of this state of the Mauryan affairs, established an independent empire far away from the Mauryan capital. It was not possible for the bankrupt successors of Aśoka to take any steps to make him submit to their authority. The Purāṇic statment that Simuka overthrew the Kāṇvas is, therefore, of no value. If the Kāṇvas were ruling over Magadha, and if they overthrew the Śuṅgas who were also ruling over Magadha, it is curious to note that the Sātavāhanas, who overthrew the Kāṇvas, should not have been associated with Magadha at all. The Andhras find mention in the Aśokan inscriptions. It seems that no sooner Aśoka was dead, the Sātavāhanas declared their independence under Simuka. Simuka may, therefore, be placed in the second half of the third century B.C. The recent attempt to shift his date in the second quarter of the third century B.C. is highly far-fetched, and the Purāṇic evidence advanced in support has been very arbitrarily interpreted to serve the purpose of reaching a conclusion<sup>58</sup>.

The reign of Sātakarṇi appears to have been prosperous and glorious. The Nāsik inscription of Kanha and the Nānāghāt inscription of Nāyanikā prove the Sātavāhana conquest of Koṅkaṇ and the Western coast. This must have been accomplished by Simuka himself since Vediśrī and Sātakarṇi at the time of the Nānāghāt inscriptions were minors. The great prosperity of the Sātavāhanas is borne out by the performance of the many sacrifices and the rich donations made by Nāyanikā. Thousands of cows, horses, large number of elephants, thousands of *Kārṣāpaṇas* and many villages were given away in gifts or as sacrificial fee to the Brāhmaṇas.

The Nānāghāt inscription records the performance of a second horse-sacrifice. There are no details of the first. There is no indication also as to the king or kings who performed these horse-sacrifices. In the manner the sacrifices are referred to, it seems that they were performed for a king who was dead. There is nothing in the inscription to support the view expressed by scholars that it was Sātakarṇi who performed the two horse-sacrifices<sup>59</sup>. If Sātakarṇi

58 *JIH.*, vol. XXVII, pp. 243 ff.

59 *CHI.*, vol. I, p. 531.

performed the two horse-sacrifices, why should the inscription mention only a second horse-sacrifice. It seems the first horse-sacrifice was performed during the reign of Simuka and the other in that of Vediśrī. The political significance of these horse-sacrifices from the sacrificial fee given in them in comparison to that given in other sacrifices appears to have been comparatively much less than the other sacrifices mentioned in the inscription. The performance of the horse-sacrifice by Simuka and Vediśrī, therefore, need not appear improbable.

Sātakarṇi was the first to issue coins. They were of different varieties and have been found in the Deccan, Koṅkaṇa, Madhya Pradesh (Tewar in Jabalpure District and in the Hoshangabad district), and eastern Mālava. He ruled over an extensive empire which included Deccan, Koṅkaṇ and the Western Coast, Madhya Pradesh, and eastern Mālava. The find of two coins at Teor, ancient Tripurī, near Jabalpur<sup>60</sup>, and a third in the Hoshangabad district<sup>61</sup> of Sātakarṇi I and all published by me, amply show that Madhya Pradesh formed part of the Sātavāhana dominion.

SANT LAL KATARE

60 *JNSI.*, vol. XIII, p. 35 ff.

61 *Ibid.*, vol. XII, pp. 94 ff.

## MISCELLANY

### On the date of the Ellora Plates of Dantidurga\*

These plates have been published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXV, pp. 25-31. The date-portion has been read as Saṁ 600 60 3 A(Ā) śvayuja śuddha trayodaśyāṁ Somavāre and this year has been referred to the Śaka era. Recently Professor Mirashi has questioned both the reading of this date and the era to which it is referred<sup>1</sup>. His arguments are :

- (i) The details of the date do not work out satisfactorily and therefore it is doubtful if the date really refers to the Śaka era.
- (ii) Since there is no reference to the Śakas or Śaka kings, the date is plainly not in the Śaka era.
- (iii) The reading of the date is incorrect. The sign for 100 is followed by the sign which denotes 4 and not 6 so that the symbol has to be read as 400 instead of 600. Thus, the date is 400 60 3 i. e. 463.
- (iv) This revised date must be referred to the Kalacuri era and since the usual epoch of A. D. 248-49 of this era does not yield satisfactory results here, the date has to be referred to the newly suggested epoch of A.D. 250-51 which would then make the date regular<sup>2</sup>.

After going through these arguments of Professor Mirashi, one gets the impression that just with a view to finding out a second instance of the use of the epoch of A.D. 250-51 of the Kalacuri era, he has hit on the date of the Ellora plates and has tried to adjust it to suit his case. Let us consider his views point by point in the order given above.

\* Read at the 16th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference.


1 *IHQ.*, vol. XXV, pp. 84-5. The Professor has discussed this question in his article on Dantidurga published recently in the first issue of the *Journal of the Baroda Oriental Research Institute*.

2 According to Professor Mirashi, this revised date of the Ellora plates supplies a second instance of the epoch of A.D. 250-51 of the Kalacuri era, the only other instance being furnished by the date of the newly discovered Nagardhan plates of Svāmīrāja (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXVIII, pp. 1 ff.).



(i) It is not convincing to say that because the details of the date do not work out satisfactorily, the date does not refer to the Śaka era. There are several records which specifically mention the Śaka and other eras but the details of the dates do not yield satisfactory results. In such cases, we have only to say that these dates are not regular. It is also possible that we do not know what almanacs were followed while recording the dates in those days and that our present method of verifying them from the tables like those given in the *Indian Ephemeris* may not be quite perfect.

(ii) The second point relates to the absence of specific reference to the Śakas or Śaka kings. It may be noted that in many Rāṣṭrakūṭa records the date is expressed in words as well as in figures in one and the same record and a word like *aṅkataḥ* or *aṅkato = pi* is used in connection with the latter expression. Reference to the era is made while giving the date in words and the date in figures is preceded by the expression *Samvat*, without the specification of the era<sup>3</sup>. Since the Ellora plates record the date only in numerical symbols and not in words as well, it is possible that the writer has omitted the reference to the Śakas or Śaka kings. The date of the Kanheri inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa I<sup>4</sup> is recorded, without specifying the era, as *saṃva* [765] and there is no doubt that this date refers to the Śaka era. Therefore, there can be no objection to the date of the Ellora plates being referred to the Śaka era.

(iii) The third point refers to the reading of the date. It is not possible to agree with Professor Mirashi in taking the sign which follows that for 100 as denoting 4 instead of 6. The Professor attaches more importance to a cross-like line in the lower portion of this symbol than to its entire shape which is like . A reference to plate LXXI—lower section (figures for 6) and plate LXXIV—lower section (figure for 600) in Ojha's *Indian Palaeography* would clearly show that the symbol under consideration is 6 only and not at all 4. So the reading of the year as 600 is quite justified. In this connection attention may be drawn to the symbol for 600 found in the

3 See Kielhorn's *List of Southern Inscriptions*, Nos. 4, 73, 77, 92 and 105.

4 *Ibid.*, No. 72.

Antroli-Chharoli grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Karka II of date Śaka 679<sup>5</sup> expressed both in words and in numerals.

Let us now examine what is called the cross bar at the lower end of the sign for 6 (in 600) on which the Professor takes his stand. A clue to the method of writing and engraving of copper-plate grants is obtained by a close study of some of these records. It seems that the writer first wrote down the inscription on the plates with some paint or ink and then the engraver was engaged to carve out the letters accordingly. In order to ensure the proper size and shape of each individual letter—curves, lines, loops, circles, etc.—the writer seems to have made use of dots or points at various places<sup>6</sup>. Afterwards these dots were removed and only the letters were inscribed. But sometimes, through oversight or mistake, these dots remained there and the engraver did not omit to carve them also, along with the letters. A fine specimen of such a record is supplied by the Nagardhan plates of Svāmīrāja, printed facsimiles of portions of which accompany the article of Professor Mirashi<sup>7</sup>. In these facsimiles we notice, for example, the dots found along with the individual letters of the word *utsarppañārttham* in line 14. In the Ellora plates of Dantidurga also we notice that some of these dots have been retained and engraved along with the letters proper. For example, in the letter *a* of *asmad* (line 21) two dots can be seen on the two sides of the horizontal line. In the same line of the record such dots are also seen with the letters *na*, *ma* and *nta*. It is, therefore, likely that the so-called cross-like thing at the lower portion of the sign for 6 in the date of the Ellora plates stands for two such dots, rather elongated, on either side of the line which were intended to secure the proper place and shape of that line. So it may not be a cross at all<sup>8</sup>.

5 *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XVI, plate between pp. 108-9. A similar symbol for 600 is used in the Manor plates of Maṅgalarasa, dated Śaka 613. (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXVIII, pp. 17 ff.)


6 Something like what modern ladies do while drawing artistic designs with colour-powder (*Raṅgavalli*). It is also not unlikely that the cross bar may have been intended to connect the sign for 6 with that for 100. In the numeral 600 occurring in the Antroli-Chharoli grant cited above a cross-bar connects both the signs for 100 and 6.

7 *IHQ.*, vol. XXV, plate facing p. 86.

8 Cf. the actual cross of the line in the case of the subscript *ka* in *śuśka* in line 25 of this record.

(iv) Whereas the year of the date has been shown to read as 600 only, the question of referring it to the Kalacuri era does not arise and has, therefore, to be left out of consideration<sup>9</sup>.

Thus Professor Mirashi's view that the date of the Ellora plates of Dantidurga should be read as 463 and should be referred to the Kalacuri era is not tenable.

Having confirmed the reading of the first symbol in this date as denoting 600, let us proceed to consider the second symbol which has been read as 60 by Mr. S. K. Dikshit, the editor of these plates. This symbol is like  and resembles the shape of the Devanāgarī letter *pa* which also forms the basis of the figure for 40 in early records. A comparison of the symbols for 40 given in plate LXXII—lower section (figures for 40) and plate LXXV—upper section (figure for 45) in Ojha's book would show that the sign in the Ellora plates under discussion resembles the symbol for 40 with the exception of a small stroke at the lower end. I, therefore, propose to read this symbol in the Ellora plates as denoting the figure 40 instead of 60, so that the date would be (Ś.) 643 and not (Ś.) 663 as read by the editor of the record. This revised reading of the date *viz.* Śaka 643, *Āśvayuja śu. 13, Somavāra*, would regularly correspond to Monday, 8th September, A.D. 721 when the thirteenth *tithi* was current till. 69 of that day<sup>10</sup>.

G. S. GAI

9 It may, however, be remarked that though the eras are prevalent region-wise not a single record of this Rāṣtrakūṭa dynasty has been discovered so far which is dated according to the Kalacuri era. It may also be observed, in passing, that with all the adjustments suggested by Professor Mirashi in regard to the date of the Ellora plates to make it regular, the verification shows that the thirteenth *tithi* was current only for .07 of that day (*i.e.* Monday) and was followed by the fourteenth *tithi* which was current for the rest of that day.

10 It is proposed to discuss separately the implications of this early date for the Rāṣtrakūṭa king Dantidurga.

I take this opportunity to express my indebtedness to Professor Mirashi who was kind enough to send me reprints of some of his learned articles, the reading of which stimulated my interest in the topic discussed above.

## Origin of the Guhilots

In a paper contributed to the *IHQ.*, XXVI, Mr. M. L. Mathur has tried to controvert Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's thesis that the Guhilots of Mewār were originally Brāhmaṇas. Let us consider here his main arguments<sup>1</sup>.

1. A fragmentary inscription of 971 A.D. is believed by Mr. Mathur to refer to the Guhilots as *Raghuvaṃśins*. The passage he relies on is given thus in the *JBBRAS*<sup>2</sup>,—

*Sāpānugrahabbhūmayo Himaśilābandhojjvalādāgire-  
rāseto Raghuvaṃśakīrtipīṣunātrivram tapah.....*

Here the *trivram* of the second line should obviously be *tīvram*. The correct reading would thus be, as actually found in the *Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*,—

*rāseto Raghuvaṃśakīrtipīṣunāt tīvram tapah.....*

Defining the *setu* as a proclaimer of the glory of *Raghuvaṃśa* is poetically apt and factually accurate, for what could really be a greater monument to Rāma's glory than the Adam's Bridge which he is said to have been constructed in order to cross over from the mainland to the island of Ceylon? Regarding the descendants of Hārīta as *kīrtipīṣunas* of the *Raghuvaṃśins* would not only be less poetic, it would also involve an emendation much less justifiable<sup>3</sup>. Rightly read and interpreted therefore the inscription under discussion has no reference whatsoever to the Guhilots or their descent from *Raghuvaṃśa*, i.e., the solar family.

2. A gold coin ascribed to Bappā Rāwal by Dr. G. H. Ojha and bearing according to him the symbol of the Sun is believed by Mr. Mathur to prove decisively that the Guhilots were solar Kṣatriyas. But this decisiveness can be there only if

- (a) the reading of the legend on the coin be certain,
- (b) the interpretation of the symbol be right,

1 There is practically nothing new about these arguments. They were advanced long ago by Dr. G. H. Ojha.

2 XXII, pp. 166 ff.

3 One might add that the word "*kīrtipīṣuna*" looks rather inappropriate for the family of an *acārya*.

- (c) the findspot and other indications favour its ascription to the Guhila dynasty of Mewār.

The coin in question fulfils none of these conditions.

3. The sixth verse of the Āṭpur inscription, dated 977 A.D., describes Naravāhana as *kṣatrakṣetra*. According to Mr. Mathur this is proof enough of Naravāhana's being regarded as a *kṣatriya*. But the word *kṣatra* should, in our opinion, be understood here in the sense of military prowess, because of Naravāhana's ancestor, Guhadatta, being described as *viprakulānanda mahādeva*, i.e. a Brāhmaṇa, in the first verse of that inscription.

Mr. Mathur is familiar enough with the verse just referred to. But he tries to explain it away by saying,

- (a) that the word *mahādeva* may mean also a *kṣatriya*. The word "Deva" as synonym for "Rājā" is used many times in dramas and epics.
- (b) that if *mahādeva* meant a Brāhmaṇa, it would be a 'superfluous duplication' to call him "a source of delight to a Brāhmaṇa family."

As regards the first of these points, Mr. Mathur ignores the fact that the words *deva* and *mahādeva* are not identical. If they are, let him quote even a single instance from the vast field of Sanskrit literature where the word *mahādeva* might have been used in the sense of a *rājā* or say a non-Brahmin of any position or type. Mr. Mathur's second point is easier still to rebut. There is no psychological inconsistency in regarding a Brāhmaṇa as a source of delight to a Brāhmaṇa family, and the supposed duplication too can be easily avoided by translating the word *mahādeva* as "a god on earth," though the actual meaning would not be changed thereby, for *mahādeva*, as already pointed out, refers in Sanskrit only to a Brāhmaṇa. It is a *yogarūḍha* word.

Of authorities stating that the Guhilots were originally Brāhmaṇas there are many besides the Āṭpur inscription referred to in the last paragraph. The Citorgarh inscription of V. 1331 and the

4 Examples of the *yogarūḍha* words, *Pañkaja*, *Puruṣottama*, *Satakratu* etc. are well-known.

Acaleśvara inscription of V. 1342 both describe Bappa as a Brāhmaṇa.<sup>5</sup> One speaks of him as a *vipra* from Ānandpur, the other describes his exchange of his *Brāhma* for *kṣātra* splendour. And this original Brāhmaṇahood of the Guhilots becomes a dead certainty, when one finds the Rājasthānī annalist, Muḥnot Naiṇsī, speaking of the Guhilas being originally Brāhmaṇas, even though they were in his time known as Kṣatriyas<sup>6</sup>. Nor is it unknown to students of Rājput history that Mahārāja Kumbhā's *Ekaliṅgamāhātmya* describes his first ancestor as a *vipra* and *mahādeva*. In the *Rasikapriyā*, the same royal author refers to Bappa as a *dvija-puṅgava* which, in view of his statement in the *Ekaliṅgamāhātmya*, can only signify that he regarded Bappa as the foremost of Brāhmaṇas.

Mr. Mathur has, in the course of his paper, tried to deal with some of these points. He impugns at times the authority of these records, though his grounds for doing so can at the best be regarded as of doubtful validity. He brings in Dayānanda Sarasvatī to prove that *vipra* did not mean a Brāhmaṇa by birth; he forgets that for Svāmījī none was a Brāhmaṇa or Kṣatriya by birth. He would have regarded as futile the question of Brāhmaṇa or Kṣatriya origin of the Guhilots. He based his opinions on grammar, not on the current use of a word.

Mr. Mathur tries to bypass the evidence of the *Ekaliṅgamāhātmya* by supposing that the first seven names in its genealogy are those of Rāja Purohitas. "Either in ignorance", writes Mr. Mathur, "or perhaps out of the consideration of the fact that Guhila was an adopted son of a noble member of this family, his name and those of his descendants have also been given in the same continuation. This view is confirmed by the fact that these first seven names (of the Nāgar family) preceding that of Guhila's in the *Ekaliṅgamāhātmya* do not find a place in any other record giving the genealogy of the Mēwār dynasty." The explanation, however, of this discrepancy is simple enough. Even according to the tradition accepted as trustworthy by Mr. Mathur, the first seven members of the Guhila family followed the Brāhmaṇa rule of life. Being no rulers they were therefore naturally enough left out of royal genealogies. When the

5 See footnotes 13 and 15 of Mr. Mathur's paper, *IHQ.*, XXVI, p. 265.

6 *Adamūl utpatti brahma piṇ kṣatri jānam.*

object was merely to list the names of rulers of Mewār it was unnecessary and, in some sense, even wrong to include the members up to Guhila.

The Guhilas of Mewār are now recognised as solar Kṣatriyas ; nay, they have been treated as such for at least five centuries or so. But whether they were so originally remains yet to be proved. With such evidence as we have at our disposal, we have to conclude with Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar that like the Sātavāhanas, the Kādambas, and perhaps also the Cāhamānas, the Guhilas of Mewār, after practising their original priestly avocation for generations, even after they had left Ānandnagar, ultimately turned to a military career and came in due course to be regarded as the foremost of the Kṣatriyas of Rājasthān, and deservedly too, for not only has the purest Aryan blood flowed through their veins, they have ever led also the Aryan hosts in their fight for independence and defence of Aryan culture.

MALATI SHARMA

## Vedic Antecedents of the Epic *Saśarīrasvarga*<sup>1</sup>

Among the diverse eschatological conceptions current in the Epic age is the belief that certain people of exceptional merit could enter heaven even with their own body (*saśarīra eva*) which, according to normal practice, must first be discarded. In the *Mbh.*<sup>2</sup> we read of the sage Mudgala being informed that his merit entitled him to the highest privilege (*paramām gatim*) of entering heaven without casting off his mortal body. Mudgala, however, found the blessing to be only temporary in duration, and is hence reported<sup>3</sup> to have refused the offer. The same privilege was accorded, we read in another context<sup>4</sup> of the same Epic, to Yudhiṣṭhira, but, this time, to last permanently. His brothers who were also bound heavenward were required, however, to observe the usual practice of giving up the mortal coil first. Yudhiṣṭhira was made immortal and allowed a permanent stay in heaven (*akṣayā lokāḥ svaśarīreṇa bhārata prāptosi*). Given a status equal to Indra, he was permitted free movement throughout heaven and enjoyment of all divine pleasures available there.

This idea of entering heaven with the mundane body was not unknown in the earlier Vedic literature. As early as the age of the *RV.* the belief prevailed that a certain portion of the individual, called his 'unborn part', (*ajo bhāga*), remained unhurt by the funeral

1 The following abbreviations are adopted in the paper:

- Atman* = *Atman in Pre-Upaniṣadic Vedic Literature* (Adyar, 1944).  
*AV.* = *Atharvaveda*.  
*Br. Up.* = *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*.  
*Mbh.* = *Mahābhārata*.  
*OST.* = *Original Sanskrit Texts* (III Edn., London, 1884).  
*RI.* = *Religions of India* (Boston, 1895).  
*RPVU.* = *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and the Upaniṣads* (Harvard, 1925).  
*RV.* = *Rgveda*.  
*SB* = *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Ed. by Albrecht Weber (Berlin, 1855).  
*1B* = *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (Bibliotheca Indica).  
*TMB* = *Tāndyamahā Brāhmaṇa* (Bibliotheca Indica).  
*TS* = *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (Anandasrama Sanskrit Series, No. 42, Poona, 1905).

2 III. 246. 28ff. (*BORI.*, Edn.) 3 *Ibid.*, III. 247. 39.

4 *Ibid.*, (Nirnayasāgara Press Edn.), XVII. 3. 6, 8, 22.



fire and reached the heaven of Yama for enjoyment there.<sup>5</sup> It is difficult to imagine that this soul of the individual would experience the delights of heaven without a body. The old body was, no doubt, discarded on the pyre, and the different senses and limbs allowed to join their counterparts or analogues in the Cosmos<sup>6</sup>. But even then, Agni was requested not to burn up or consume the deceased, not to dissolve his skin or body, but to kindle his 'unborn part,'<sup>7</sup> and even to repair whatever damage that bird, beast, or insect, or any other animal might have wrought on the dead body<sup>8</sup>. In the heaven of Yama the soul shook off all infirmities and bodily frailties and was united with a glorious body (*tanvā suvarcā*)<sup>9</sup>. It is not impossible that the *Rgvedic* seers had here in mind the revival of the old body<sup>10</sup>, rid of all its weaknesses and limitations and tempered well enough to meet all the requirements of a denizen of heaven.

The *AV.* repeats<sup>11</sup> almost all these ideas of the *RV.*; but, on one occasion<sup>12</sup>, it appears to refer<sup>13</sup> quite clearly to the wholesale revival, in heaven, of the old body destroyed by the funeral fire:

यद्वो अग्निरजहादेकमङ्गं पितृलोकं गमयं जातवेदाः ।

तद्व एतत्पुनराप्याययामि माङ्गाः स्वर्गे पितरो मादयध्वम् ॥

Another hymn<sup>14</sup> of the same Veda says that one who eats the wholesome rice-dish (*odana*) is born again complete in limbs, joints and body:

एष वा आदनः सर्वाङ्गः सर्वपरुः सर्वतनूः ।

सर्वाङ्ग एव सर्वपरुः सर्वतनूः सं भवति य एव वेद ॥

The *TS.* is quite definite on the point. It actually prescribes the

<sup>5</sup> *RV.*, X. 16. 4; 14. 8 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *RV.*, X. 16. 3.

<sup>7</sup> *RV.*, X. 16. 4.

<sup>8</sup> *RV.*, X. 16. 4.

<sup>9</sup> *RV.*, X. 14. 8.

<sup>10</sup> Hopkins, *RI.*, p. 145 f.; Keith, *RPVU.*, II. 405; Roth (*JAOS.*, 1853, III, 343) seems to feel that the divine body have nothing to do with the earthly body discarded on the funeral pyre. But the evidence of other Vedic passages appears to be against this opinion. I expressed a view similar to Roth's some time ago (*Ātman*, p. 56). In the light of the new evidence available to me now I withdraw that view.

<sup>11</sup> See H. G. Narahari, *Ātman*, p. 57.

<sup>12</sup> XVIII. 4. 64.

<sup>13</sup> Muir, *OST.*, V. 298 n., 304 f.; Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

<sup>14</sup> XI. 3. 32, 49.

method by which the aspirant can enter heaven alive. The relevant passage of this Saṁhitā<sup>15</sup> runs:

ब्रह्मवादिनो वदन्ति किं तद्यज्ञे यजमानः कुरुते येन जीवन् सुवर्गं लोकमेतीति । जीव-  
प्रहो वै एव यददाम्योऽनभिषुतस्य गगहाति । जीवन्तमेवैनं सुवर्गं लोकं गमयति ॥

As this passage would have, the sacrificer who offers the *adābhya* libation of *Soma*, without pouring it out, can ascend to heaven directly without dying.

The Brāhmaṇas harp on the theme pretty often. The *SB.*<sup>16</sup> thus speaks<sup>17</sup> of the pious sacrificer being rewarded with a whole body (*sarvatanūr eva sāṅgaḥ*) in the next world:

स ह सर्वतनूरेव यजमानोऽमुष्मिन् लोके संभवति ॥ एष ह वै यजमानस्यामुष्मिन्  
लोके आत्मा भवति यद्यज्ञः । स ह सर्वतनूरेव यजमानोऽमुष्मिन् लोके सम्भवति य एवं  
विद्वान् निष्कृत्या यजते ॥ अ इव वै एष लोकांश्च देवताश्च विशति यः सौत्तामण्याभिषिच्यते ।  
तदेतद्वान्तरामात्मानमुपह्वयते तथा कृत्स्न एव सर्वतनूः साङ्गः सम्भवति ॥

The *TB.* and the *TMB.* are also aware of such rewards; the former<sup>18</sup> promises ascent to heaven with body (*saśarīra eva suvargaṁ lokam eti*) for knowing the nature of the Naciketa fire:

यो ह वाग्नेर्नाचिकेतस्य शरीरं वेद । सशरीर एव स्वर्गं लोकमेति । हिरण्यं वाग्ने-  
र्नाचिकेतस्य शरीरम् । य एवं वेद । सशरीर एव स्वर्गं लोकमेति ॥

and the latter<sup>19</sup> holds that the reward for one who performs the horse-sacrifice is that he goes to the other world even with his earthly body (*saśarīraḥ sambhavati*):

एष वाव सशरीरः सम्भवत्यमुष्मै लोकाय योऽश्वमेधी ॥

With these statements must also be read the idea prevailing in these texts that the loss of a dead man's bones is disgraceful, and is the severest punishment known for arrogance<sup>20</sup>. In the *SB.*, for instance, we read:

स उवाचानतिप्रश्रन्यां मा देवतामत्यप्राप्ती पुरा इतिथ्यै मरिष्यसि न ते अस्थीनि चन  
गृह्णान् प्राप्स्यन्तीति । स ह तथैव ममार । तस्य हाप्यन्यन्मन्यमानाः परिमोषिणोऽस्थीन्य-  
पजहूः तस्मान्नोपवादी स्यात् ॥<sup>21</sup>

तं त्वौपनिषद् पुरुषं पृच्छामि तं चेद् मे न विवक्ष्यसि मूर्धा ते विषतिष्यतीति । तं ह  
शाकल्यो न मेने । तस्य ह मूर्धा विपपात । तस्य हाप्यन्यद् मन्यमानाः परिमोषिणोऽ-  
स्थीन्यपजहूः ॥<sup>22</sup>

15 VI. 6. 9. 2; cf. Muir, *op. cit.*, V. 317 n.

16 IV. 6. 1. 1; X. 1. 8. 6; XII. 8. 3. 31,

17 Cf. Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

18 III. 11. 7. 4.

19 XXI. 4. 3. 20 Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

21 XI. 6. 3. 11.

22 'This is the same as *Br. Up.*, III. 9. 26.

On another occasion<sup>23</sup> the same Brāhmaṇa speaks of men not being able to achieve immortality without "shuffling off their mortal coil":

स मृत्युर्देवानब्रवीदथ एव सर्वे मनुष्या अमृता भविष्यन्त्यथ को मर्त्यं भागो भविष्यतीति ।  
ते ह ऊचुर्नातः परः कश्चन सह शरीरेणामृतो सद्विद्यया वा कर्मणा वेति । यद्वै तदब्रुवन्  
विद्यया वा कर्मणा वेति एषा ह एव सा विद्या यद्विद्विरेतदु ह एव तत्कर्म यदग्निः ॥

ते य एवमेतद्विदुः । ये वैतत्कर्म कुर्वते मृत्वा पुनः सम्भवन्ति ते सम्भवन्त एवामृतत्वमभि-  
सम्भवन्त्यथ य एवं न विदुर्ये वैतत्कर्म न कुर्वते मृत्वा पुनः सम्भवन्ति तत् एतस्यैवान्न पुनः  
पुनर्भवन्ति ॥

But this is not to contradict<sup>24</sup> the view expressed in the passages already noticed above since, even then, the assumption of some body is envisaged, and the new body may not be very much different from the old one, albeit its more glorious nature.

Such passages probably are the starting points of the later Epic view that retention of the earthly body in heaven means the survival also of earthly associations, an attitude of mind not at all desirable in the higher world, and that this mundane body, though permitted to enter heaven with all its imperfections; can be improved upon to meet the requirements of the celestial regions. We do read in the *Mbh*<sup>25</sup> how Yudhiṣṭhira, who was allowed, by virtue of his extraordinary merit, the very rare privilege, till then unknown, of entering heaven with his earthly body, betrayed too often his deep attachment towards his relatives while on earth, how, in order to make him forget his mundane associations, he was asked to bathe in the celestial Ganges, and how, after this bath, he gave up all his frailties and became fit to move on an equal footing with his divine ancestors and to partake of the many enjoyments available to those resident in heaven.

The doctrine of bodily ascent to heaven (*saśarīrasvarga*) appears, therefore, to be no new invention of the Epic age. It should only be one among the many eschatological ideas handed down by the Vedas to the Epics and adopted by the latter as part of their creed.

H. G. NARAHARI

<sup>23</sup> X. 4. 3. 9.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Muir, *loc. cit.*

<sup>25</sup> XVII. 3. 28; XVIII. 3. 29 ff. (Nirnayasāgara Press Edn.).

**Terminus ad quem for the Dates of Nandapaṇḍita's Śrāddha-  
kalpalatā and Śuddhicandrikā—Śaṃvat 1660 = 1603 A.C.**

The literary activities of Nandapaṇḍita *alias* Vināyakapaṇḍita Dharmādhikārin, the celebrated voluminous writer on Dharmaśāstra and a prominent authority on Dattaka or adopted son, have been plausibly placed by P. V. Kane<sup>1</sup> and others between A.C. 1595 and 1630.

Among his thirteen or more works, only the *Keśavavaijayanī*, an extensive commentary on the *Viṣṇusmṛti*, explicitly mentions<sup>2</sup> its date of composition viz. Śaṃvat 1679 or 1623 A.C., while the probability of the *Mādhavānanda-Kāvya* being composed in Śaṃvat 1655 or 1599 A.C. is held to be high on account of the mention of that year on one of its MSS., probably in Nandapaṇḍita's own handwriting, as noticed by V. N. Mandlik<sup>3</sup>. Most of the remaining works are only assigned to the period prior to Śaṃvat 1679 on account of references to them in the *Keśavavaijayanī*.

His *Śuddhicandrikā* is a voluminous commentary on Kauśika Āditya's *Āśaucanirṇaya* *alias* *Śadaśīti* and has been published in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series<sup>4</sup>. It, too, is referred to in the *Keśavavaijayanī*<sup>5</sup> and this reference alone has hitherto furnished the definite lower limit (Śaṃvat 1679) for its date of composition.

1 *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. I (Poona, 1930), p. 432.

2 Vide the following verse 7 at the conclusion of the *Keśavavaijayanī* as cited by P. V. Kane:—

वर्षे विक्रमभास्करस्य गणिते नन्दाद्रिषड्भूमिभिः

पूर्णे कार्तिकमासि वृश्चिकगते भानौ वृषस्थे विधौ ।

काश्यां केशवनायकस्य नृपतेराज्ञामवाप्य स्मृते-

विष्णोर्व्याकृतिमाचकार विमलां श्रीनन्दशर्मा सुधीः ॥

3 *Hindu Law* (1880), p. LXXII, N. 3.

4 No. 67, 1928, Ed. Vaidyanatha Sastri Varakale and Lakshmidhara Pant Dhamadhikari.

5 “.....विस्तरस्तु शुद्धिचन्द्रिकायामवगन्तव्यः ।”—*Keśavavaijayanī* on *Viṣṇusmṛti* XII. 8, as cited by P. V. Kane. By the way, this *Keśavavaijayanī* is being serially published by the Adyar Library under the editorship of K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar and A. N. Krishna Aiyangar.

The Manuscripts Library of the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain, has lately stocked a very old dated MS. of this *Śuddhicandrikā* through a collection purchased in 1945 from a grocer's shop at Lashkar-Gwalior. The MS. (Accession No. 7377) consists of 56 country paper folios of the size 11 × 5 inches, each side of the folios containing 12 lines on the average and each line about 52 middle-sized letters written in dark-black ink. The script is Devanāgarī, the letters अ, ए being of the Hindi type and ल being of the Marathi type. Although the scribe's handwriting is somewhat clumsy, the MS. has been scribed with extreme caution, hardly any mistake being detectable. The opening page viz. Folio 1<sup>a</sup> reads in the middle ॥ आत्रेय बालकृष्णस्येदम् ॥ pointing to one Ātreya Bālākṛṣṇa being a previous owner of the MS., and some additional matter in a different ink and handwriting appears elsewhere on the page. Margin is left of about an inch on the four sides of each page wherein words or lines originally left out are sometimes seen inserted in the original scribe's own handwriting. The folios are extremely worn out, especially on their edges, sometimes to the loss of some of the marginal matter. The concluding folio 56<sup>a</sup> was originally broken into pieces, out of which two main pieces now appear to be pasted on a different leaf while some minute pieces have altogether perished. Thus some matter on this last page has been destroyed. However, what survives of it helps us considerably in arriving nearer its date of composition.

The MS. begins :

॥ श्रीमहागणपतये नमः ॥ श्रीसरस्वत्यै नमः ॥

अमन्दमदनिष्यन्दगण्डमण्डलमन्वहम् ।

विघ्नान्धकारमार्तण्डं वक्रलुण्डमुपास्महे ॥१॥

धर्माधिकारिपदभूषितवंशरत्न—

श्रीरामपण्डितसुतेन विनायकेन ।

आशीर्चतत्त्वविवृतिः षडशीतिपद्या

व्याख्यायतेऽतिशयवद्विषयानवद्या ॥२॥

इह खलु etc.

—Folio 1<sup>b</sup>

The MS. ends :

.....इत्यलम् ॥

धर्माधिकारिकुलकैरवकाननेन्दु-

श्रीरामपण्डितसुतेन विनायकेन ।

याकारि शुद्धिपदपूर्वकचन्द्रिका तां

विद्व.....यन्नु<sup>6</sup> ॥१॥

जिज्ञासैव न.....<sup>7</sup>

सकृत्वेन तु सापि चेद्भवति तन्नेवाग्रहः सोऽपि<sup>8</sup> ।

न प्राचीननिबन्धनानि सकलान्येकस्य य<sup>9</sup> .....

<sup>10</sup> .....तत्त्वमखिलं विज्ञास्यते मत्कृतेः ॥२॥

बुधा मुधा दूषणभूषणाभ्यां दूष्यो न भूष्यश्च मम प्रयासः ।

यद्यस्ति<sup>11</sup> .....श्च धर्मे तदेवं परिशीलयन्तु ॥३॥

षडशीतेरियं व्याख्या जाताभिव्या प्रकाशिता ।

येनान्तरात्मना सोऽयमनया<sup>12</sup> .. ..... ॥४॥

श्रीरामो जयति ॥

॥ इति श्रीधर्माधिकारिरामपण्डितात्मजविनायक<sup>13</sup> पण्डितकृतायां षडशीतिवि<sup>14</sup> .....

प्रकीर्णशौचप्रकरणम् ॥ शुभमस्तु ॥ अथ संवत्सरे १६६० श्रावणवदि १ बुधदिने

पुरुषोत्तमशर्मणा<sup>15</sup> .....वत्कृपयालेखि ॥ ॥ श्रेयस्तनोतु ॥ छ ॥

Thus the MS. was scribed by one Puruṣottamaśarmaṇ, in all likelihood at Banaras, on Wednesday the 1st day of the dark fortnight of Śrāvaṇa in Sainvat 1660, i.e. c. July 1603 A.C., or about nineteen years prior to the composition of the *Keśavavaijayanī*. Thus on the evidence of this MS. the lower limit for the date of composition of the *Suddhicandrikā* is now definitely pushed back by at least nineteen years.

6 The lines are broken in the MS. According to the printed version this quarter reads विद्वच्चकोरनिवहाः परिशीलयन्तु.

7 The reading of the broken quarter is जिज्ञासैव न धर्मशास्त्रविषये कस्यापि शास्त्रान्तरा—.

8 The missing letters are चेत्.

9 यस्याखिलं as per printed text.

10 दैवात्स्थास्यति तेन is the missing portion.

11 The whole quarter is यद्यस्ति कोऽप्यत्र गुणो ग्रहश्च ।

12 The missing portion is प्रीयतां हरिः ।

13 The author's other name 'Nandapaṇḍita' is mentioned in some previous sectional colophons in the MS Vide. for instance, Folio 13<sup>b</sup>:—

इति श्रीधर्माधिकारिरामपण्डितात्मजनन्दपण्डितकृतायां षडशीतिविबृत्तौ शुद्धिचन्द्रिकायां सूतकप्रकरणम् ॥

14 To be completed as षडशीतिविबृत्तौ शुद्धिचन्द्रिकायां etc.

15 The missing letters, about seven or eight in number, should be something like 'वाराणस्यां श्रीभग(वत्कृपयालेखि'.

However, in the *Suddhicandrikā* Nandapaṇḍita at least five times mentions the *Śrāddhakalpalatā* as an already composed work of his own. These references to the *Śrāddhakalpalatā* are all traceable<sup>16</sup> in our MS. of the *Suddhicandrikā* under question. Hence it at once follows that the *Śrāddhakalpalatā* was composed at least a few years prior to Saṁvat 1660.

In the light of this new lower limit it may be surmised now with a fair degree of probability that both the *Śrāddhakalpalatā* and the *Suddhicandrikā* were composed not later than Saṁvat 1655 (= 1599 A.C.), the date mentioned on the pre-mentioned<sup>17</sup> MS. of the *Mādhavānanda-kāvya*.

SADASHIVA L. KATRE

16 Vide Folios 15<sup>b</sup> ( अत्रापरो वक्तव्यो विशेषः श्राद्धकल्पलतायामेव सविस्तरमाविष्कृत इति नेहोच्यते । ), 35<sup>a</sup> ( अपरोऽपि विशेषः श्राद्धकल्पलतायामस्माभिर्विस्तरेणाविष्कृत इति नेहोच्यते ), 43<sup>b</sup> ( उपपादितं चैतच्छ्राद्धकल्पलतायामेवास्माभिरिति नेहोच्यते । ), 52<sup>a</sup> ( विशेषान्तरं श्राद्धकल्पलतायामेवोक्तमिति नेहोच्यते । ), 55<sup>b</sup> ( संस्कारकापनोदनादिकं चास्माभिः श्राद्धकल्पलतायामेवोक्तमिति नेहोच्यते इत्यलम् । ).

17 Vide Footnote 3 above and its source.

## REVIEWS

JOHN COMPANY AT WORK : A STUDY OF EUROPEAN EXPANSION IN INDIA IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY by Holden Furber, Associate Professor of History, University of Texas; Harvard University Press: 1948 pp. xiv + 407 (including 5 appendices and index).

The volume under review describes in full the mode of procedure that had been adopted by the European Power to consolidate itself in India during the early years of its rule, 1783—1818. The author has adduced in support of his conclusions a valuable wealth of details culled from original sources not easy of access. The authorities quoted by him in Appendix E indicate the enormous labour that he has put in in the execution of his work. He has consulted records in English, French, Dutch and Danish both in manuscript and print. Dealing with the administration of the E. I. Co., there are 48,000 volumes of Mss. in India Office, the number of records of the Dutch E. I. Co. at the Hague is almost of the same magnitude ; those of the French E. I. Co. at Paris, and Danish E. I. Co. at Copenhagen, being only a little less (Preface p. ix).

The book opens dramatically, describing Lord Hastings' return home on a day in March, 1785. The ship carrying him had in the keel 500 bags of Bengal saltpetre, 209 well-protected bales of raw silk, 54 boxes of indigo, 21 bales of cotton yarn, and 1,05,650 pieces of calico.

After careful investigation and research, the author concludes that the East India Company "was simply a tool used by groups of individuals who cared not a whit what the balance sheet looked like, so long as their private ends were served." (p. 269). Indeed, the things had come to such a pass that on 12th March, 1784, bailiffs appeared in the India House with warrants of attachment of the Hon'ble East India Company's property to enforce payment of £100,000 demanded by H. M. G. Treasury. It was the good offices of Sir Barnard Turner and Mr. Thomas Skinner that saved the Company from great indignities. (pp. 260, 261). It is said that



"Millions upon millions and crores upon crores" vanished through unknown channels (p. 261).

Some of the important conclusions arrived at by the author are to be found in chapt. IX (the last chapter). It has been shown that the steady rise of British power in India was dependent on "divide and rule" policy (p. 303), that the drain from India during 1783-93 was approximately £6,375,000 in gold and £1,800,000 in goods (p. 310); that European activity within India created wealth and wealthy people in India (pp. 311, 312); and that after subtracting £2,000,000 for military expenses, the national gain on Indian trade from 1783-84 to 1792-93 stood at £10,828,071 to which should be added another £7,000,000 for British owned Bills of Exchange etc. (pp. 315, 316). He further says that the vulnerable character of Indian society due to its diversities, specially India's weakness at sea, was taken advantage of, and European "frontier" careerists who had no chance of gaining position in Europe (p. 321) became instruments in India to consolidate European power. These adventures relieved social pressure in Great Britain and other places (p. 321).

The present volume fills up a gap in the 18th Century Indian History, and we have no hesitation in commending the book to all ardent students of Indian affairs during the regime of the East India Company.

S. K. D.

## Select Contents of Oriental Journals

**Adyar Library Bulletin**, vol. XVI, Two Parts—1 & 2

- A. SITTAA DEVIL.—*World Transliteration without Diacritical Marks* (pt. 1).
- C. KUNHAN RAJA.—*In the Land of the Hittites*. This is an account of the writer's tour of Anatolia with special reference to his visit to Bogazkoy, the capital city of the ancient Hittites, who had some sort of relation with the Indian Aryans, and whose treaty records and the Vedas bear a close affinity to each other (pt. 1).
- .—*Where Ancient Thought and Modern Science Meet* (pt. 2).

### SERIAL PUBLICATION:

*R̥guedabhāṣya* of Skandasvāmin.

*Edicts of Aśoka (Priyadarśin) with English Translation*.

*Saṅgītaratnākara* of Śārṅgadharma translated into English.

*Vedāntakārikāvatī* of Veṅkaṭācārya edited.

*Āṅgirasasmṛti* edited.

*Vṛttaratnāvatī* of Veṅkaṭeśa edited with English Translation (pts. 1 & 2)

*Vedāntasāra* of Rāmānjanā edited with English Translation (pt. 2)

### MANUSCRIPT NOTES:

- H. G. NARAHARI.—*Prāśnābbhinnottarāvatī* of Śrīnivāsakaṇṭhi. (pt. 1).  
The short poem dealt with in the Note illustrates the figure of speech *prāśnābbhinnottara* (answer non-different from question).
- K. KUNJUNNI RAJA.—*The Kāvikaṇṭhābharāṇa* of Śrīkaṇṭha—*A Practical Text-book on Sanskrit Grammar* (pt. 1)
- H. G. NARAHARI.—*A New Commentary on the Pramāṇapaddhati* of Jayatīrtha. Jayatīrtha's *Pramāṇapaddhati* is the standard work on Dvaita epistemology. The manuscript described here is a commentary on that work by Roṭṭi Veṅkaṭādrībhāṭṭa (pt. 2).

**Art and Letters**, vol. XXV, no. 2 (1951)

ANGELA LATHAM.—*Terra-cottas of the Ruined Temples of Bengal*.

K. HAZAREESINGH.—*Indian Culture in Mauritius*.

**Journal of the American Oriental Society**, vol. 71, no. 4  
(October-December, 1951)

W. E. CLARK.—*The Future of Indian Studies.*

**Journal of the Asiatic Society, Letters**, vol. XVII, no. 1, 1951

SUNIL CHANDRA ROY.—*The Identity of the Yaśovarman of some Mediaeval Coins.* Coins of Yaśovarman which have been mainly found in the Panjab are similar to the Karkoṭa coins of Kāśmīra. An unpublished Sanskrit drama seems to have identified this Yaśovarman with king Śaṅkaravarman who ruled over Kāśmīra in the 9th century.

BISHNUPADA BHATTACHARYA.—*The Riti School and Ānandavardhana's Dhvani Theory.*

NIROD BANDHU SANYAL.—*Could Muḥammad Shāb Sūr Conquer Arakan?* The writer of the Note maintains that nothing stands against the possibility of a raid on Arakan by Sultan Muḥammad Shāh of Bengal, whose coin struck in 962 A.H. (1555 A.C.) bears the mint-name Arkan.

DINESH CHANDRA SIRCAR.—*Jajpur and the Bhauma-Karas of Orissa.* A fragmentary stone inscription recording the construction of a temple of Śiva by the queen of Śubhākara I, an early Bhauma king of the 7th century, has been discovered in the ruins of a temple within the boundaries of modern Jajpur, which is suggested to have been the capital of the Bhaumakara family of Orissa.

—.—*Purī Copper-plate Inscription of Gaṅga Bhānu II of Orissa.*

—.—*An Important Date in the Chronology of the Pālas.* A recently discovered inscription helps to determine the chronology of the reigns of Madanapāla and his successor Govindapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihar. The record is dated in the 18th year of Madanapāla's reign in the Śaka year 1083 (1161 A.C.).

—.—*First set of the Kendupāṭṇā Plates of Gaṅga Narasiṃha II: Śaka 1217 and Aṅka year 21.*

SUNDER LAL HORA.—*Maintenance of Irrigation Tanks through Fishery Revenue in Ancient India.*

TAPAN KUMAR ROY CHOWDHURY.—*Revenue Administration of Bengal in the Early Days of Mughal Rule.*

**Journal Asiatique, Tome CCXXXIX, no. 2 (1951)**

HENRI DEY LIER.—*La date de Kaniška, l'art du Gandhara et la chronologie du nord-ouest de l'inde.*

GENEVIEVE CASAL.—*La céramique du sud de l'inde.*

**Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,**  
vol. 26, pt. II (1951)

- I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA.—*Some Vedic Words viewed in the Light of the Gāthās and other Avesta Texts.* As languages of the Veda and Avesta are 'sister dialects', a reference to the meanings of the Avestan words is found helpful in determining the senses of the corresponding Vedic words. The roots and words discussed in the paper are: *ātri*, *āsura*, *ṛṣi*, *aitareya*,  $\sqrt{\text{rakṣ-}}$ ,  $\sqrt{\text{vabh-}}$ ,  $\sqrt{\text{ven-}}$ , *śvāntā*,  $\sqrt{\text{svar-}}$ ,  $\sqrt{\text{snu-}}$ .
- INDUMATI DATAR.—*A Study of First Chapter of Buddhapālita Mūlamadhyamakavṛtti.* Flourishing in the 5th century A.C., Buddhapālita had faithfully interpreted Nāgārjuna's Madhyamaka doctrine of Buddhist philosophy. He is known to have written a number of works of which the commentary on the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* is now preserved only in its Tibetan version. The first chapter (pratyayaparikṣāprakaraṇa) of the commentary has been reconstructed here into Sanskrit from the Tibetan.
- V. A. RAMASWAMI SASTRI.—*Bhāṣyadīpa, a new Commentary on Śābarabhāṣya according to the Prabhākara School.* The Adyar Library of Madras and the Oriental Manuscript Library of Trivandrum possess mss. of the *Arthavādādhikaraṇa* and the *Bhāṣyadīpa*, two Mīmāṃsā works by Kṣīrasāgaravāsimiśra, who is conjectured to have flourished in Mithilā between 1200 and 1600 A.C. The *Bhāṣyadīpa* is a commentary on the *Mīmāṃsābhāṣya* of Śabara, interpreting the Bhāṣya passages according to Prabhākara and elucidating the latter's doctrines in every Adhikaraṇa.
- H. R. RANGASWAMY IYENGAR.—*Bhartṛhari and Diñnāga.* According to Itsing's *Record* Bhartṛhari died in 650 A.C. But there is literary evidence making Bhartṛhari a pupil of Vasurāta who must be assigned to the 5th century. A corroborating proof now comes from the Tibetan version of Diñnāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya* where

two kārīkās of Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya* are found quoted in the 5th century.

- A. M. GHATAGE.—*Two Brāhmaṇic Philosophers in the Ṛṣibhāṣitāni*. Successive generations of the same family—Aruṇa, Uddālaka, Śvetaketu and Nāciketa are the four prominent thinkers of the Upaniṣadic texts. Uddālaka and Śvetaketu are also mentioned in Buddhist literature. Names of Aruṇa and Uddālaka find a place also in a Jain canonical text called *Ṛṣibhāṣitāni*. A comparison of the Brāhmaṇic, Buddhist and Jain sources of information about Uddālaka and Āruṇi establishes the historicity of these members of an ancient family of philosophers, and suggests at the same time that the divergent views ascribed to them by the texts of each religion could not all be theirs. The famous names were associated with the teachings of different creeds to make them more weighty.
- V. V. MIRASHI.—*The Date of the Ellora Plates of Dantidurga*. Dantidurga of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family is surmised to have a long reign of forty years from about 710 A.C. to 750 A.C. The date given in the Ellora plates of Dantidurga as now read corresponds to the 16th September 715 A.C.

**Journal of Oriental Research, vol. XIX, pt. II.**

- A. VENKATASUBBIAH.—*Vedic Studies : V.—Ūrvā*. The meaning of the word ūrvā occurring in twenty-two passages in the *R̥gveda* forms the subject-matter of this continued studies.
- V. S. AGRAWALA.—*Pāṇini*. Useful data of cultural and historical import have been collected from the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini.
- N. VENKATARAMANAYYA.—*The Gajapati Bhānudeva IV*. The discussion relates to the events of the reign of the Gajapati Pratāpa Vīra Niśaṅka Bhānudeva, the last ruler of the Eastern Gaṅga family in the 15th century.
- N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO.—*Some New Facts about Cōla History*. A copper-plate charter from Tanjore, consisting of fifty-five inscribed plates of the time of Rājendra Coḷa I supplies the following information :
- (i) Parantaka I defeated a Pallava king. This information suggests that Parantaka I completed the subjugation of the Pallavas begun by his father Āditya I.

- (ii) Parantaka II defeated Vīra Pāṇḍya in battle.
- (iii) Rājārāja the Great gained victory over a Vāṇa chief.
- (iv) The king of Kāmbōja (Cambodia) sent presents to Rājendra Cōla I.
- (v) In order to fulfil the unaccomplished desires of his father, Rājendra Cōla I marched against Mānykheṭa and burned the city.

V. RAGHAVAN.—*Some Kavi-rākṣasas, their Identities and Works.*

S. VENKITASUBRAMONIA IYER.—*Mātṛdatta, a friend of Daṇḍin.* The *Avantisundarīkathā* of Daṇḍin refers to his friend Mātṛdatta who was a son of Bhavarāta and an inhabitant of Kerala, and had commented on the *Kalpasūtra* and performed Vedic sacrifices. Commentaries on the *Satyāśādhāśrautasūtra*, *Satyāśādhagrhyasūtra* and *Rudrasūtra* are known to have been written by an author named Mātṛdatta. The identity of Daṇḍin's friend and this commentator is suggested.

P. K. GODE.—*Date of Vaidyabhṛdayānanda, a Work on Medicine by Yogi Prabharāja—Later than c. A.D. 1550.*

D. D. KOSAMBI.—*The Cintāmaṇisāraṇikā of Daśabala.* The *Sāraṇi* (calendar) edited here was prepared by the Buddhist astronomer Daśabala in the 11th century during the reign of king Bhoja of Dhāra.

**Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland,**

1951, Parts 3 & 4

H. HARGREAVES.—*Masterpieces of Oriental Art. 17: Representations of the Bodhisattva Going to School, in Gandhāra Reliefs.* The Gandhāra sculpture described here represents the youthful Bodhisattva seated on a two-wheeled chariot drawn by two rams with figures of school-going companions standing beside.

J. H. LINDSAY.—*The Makara in Early Chinese Buddhist Sculpture.* Among the Wei sculptures of the 5th century A.C. found in the Buddhist cave temples of North China, several carvings of a creature resembling the Indian Makara are depicted at the ends of the arches over the Buddha figure. The inspiration of the curious motif seems to have gone to China from South India.

**Journal of the University of Bombay, vol. XX, pt. 2,  
Arts Number (No. 26) September, 1951**

- H. D. VELANKAR.—*Hymns to Indra in Maṇḍala 1* (129-133; 165; 169-171; 173-178). Fifteen hymns to Indra from the 1st Maṇḍala of the *R̥gveda* have been translated into English with annotations.
- B. S. AGNIHOTRI.—*Bhagavadgītā mainly aims at the Exposition of Buddhiyoga*.
- VASANT KUMAR R. PANDIT.—*Ṭikanikayātrā of Varāhamihira*. The *Ṭikanikayātrā* is the third treatise on the subject of yātrā (journey, march) by Varāhamihira, the other two being the *Bṛhad-yātrā* and *Yogayātrā*. The present work which is said to be an abridgment of the *Bṛhad-yātrā* has been edited with the help of three mss.
- G. K. BHAT.—*Yajñaphala: A Critical Study*. By a critical analysis of the *Yajñaphala*, the play has been shown to possess all the features of the Bhāsa plays.
- S. N. GAJENDRAGADKAR.—*Sulhaṇa's Commentary on Vṛttaratnākara*. The *Vṛtti* of Sulhaṇa which is now being edited for the first time is the oldest commentary on Kedāra's *Vṛttaratnākara*, a standard work on prosody.
- G. V. DEVASTHALI.—*Śabara and Patañjali*. The author of the paper sticks to his position that there is no conclusive evidence to show that Śabara has referred to Patañjali and his *Mahābhāṣya*, and that the latter had attained the position of high authority in the time of the former.

**Man in India, vol. 31, nos. 3 & 4 (July-December, 1951)**

- NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE.—*Caste in India*.
- H. C. CHAKLADAR.—*The Prehistoric Culture of Bengal*.
- SUDHIR KUMAR DAS.—*Vrātya and Vrata*.

**Vāk, no. 1 (December, 1951)**

- LOUIS RENOU.—*Sur Quelques Formations Sanskrites En—Tl*.
- J. W. DE. JONG.—*Suggestions for a Polyglot Buddhist Dictionary*.
- H. G. NARAHARI.—*Ānanda in the Veda*.
- NILMADHAB SEN.—*Un-Pāṇinian Perfect Forms in the Rāmāyaṇa*.
- LOUIS RENOU.—*Index of Remarkable Words and Forms in the Durghaṭavṛtti of Saramadeva*.

P. K. GODE.—*Some Words for the Nut-cracker.*

I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA.—*Some Strange Words found among the "Sanskrit Writings" of the Parsis.*

P. V. BAPAT.—*Pallatthikā.*

SIDDHESWAR VARMA.—*Bandhas in Sanskrit.*

NILMADHAV SEN.—*The Vocabulary of the Rāmāyaṇa (I).*

BANARSI DAS JAIN.—*Words and Meanings not found in Monier-Williams.*

E. D. KULKARNI.—*The Kośa Citations in Commentarial Literature belonging to the Classical Period.*

V. A. RAMASWAMI SASTRI.—*The Mīmāṃsaka Conception of Bhāvanā.*

LOUIS RENOU.—*A Sanskrit Thesaurus.*



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## Excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa<sup>1</sup>

### *Introduction*

Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, the hill of Nāgārjuna, is the name of a large rocky hill on the right bank of the Kṛṣṇā river in the Palnad Taluk of the Guntur District of the Madras Presidency, sixteen miles west of Macherla R. S. The scene of the Archaeological Department's activities in excavation from 1926 to 1938 is a valley, about three miles in width, completely shut in by the surrounding hills which are off-shoots of the Nallamalai Range, and the Kṛṣṇā river on the west which forms the boundary between the Guntur District and the Nizam's Dominions. The valley is dotted with numerous hillocks and mounds covered with jungle. These mounds represent the sites of former Buddhist monuments, mostly *stūpas*, *caityas* and *vihāras*. A vast number of groups of standing limestone pillars are also met with in the valley. Each group marks the site of some monastery. Only one site was discovered right in the centre of the valley which represents the remains of a palace.

The extent of the ruins is far greater than that at the well-known site of Amarāvati. Its strategical position protected on three sides by natural fortifications and the river on the fourth side together with two fortified hills defending the river front shows that the place was of considerable importance and nearly impregnable in early days (pl. 1). The Kṛṣṇā river which is about half a mile in width was probably a much larger river than now affording easy navigation down to the sea thus making

<sup>1</sup> Lectures delivered in the India Society, London on 25th March 1949, Leiden University, Leiden, Holland on 13th April 1949, Musée Guimet, Paris on 4th April 1949 and Instituto Diego De Velazquez, Madrid on 21st April, 1949.

the city accessible and in easy communication with the other Buddhist settlements at Renṭala, Goli, Amarāvātī, Jaggayyapeṭa, Chezerla, Ghaṇṭasālā, Gummaḍiduṛṟu, Allūru, Bezvada and Bhaṭṭiprolu, all situated in the lower Kṛṣṇā valley within easy reach of the river. The Kṛṣṇā was known to the Greeks and Romans as *Maisolos* and the Kṛṣṇā delta is called *Maisolia* by Ptolemy.

### Early Excavations

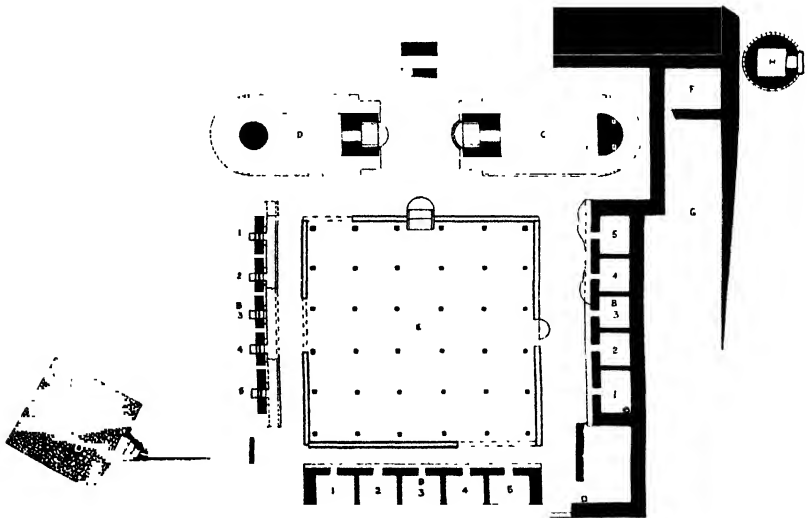
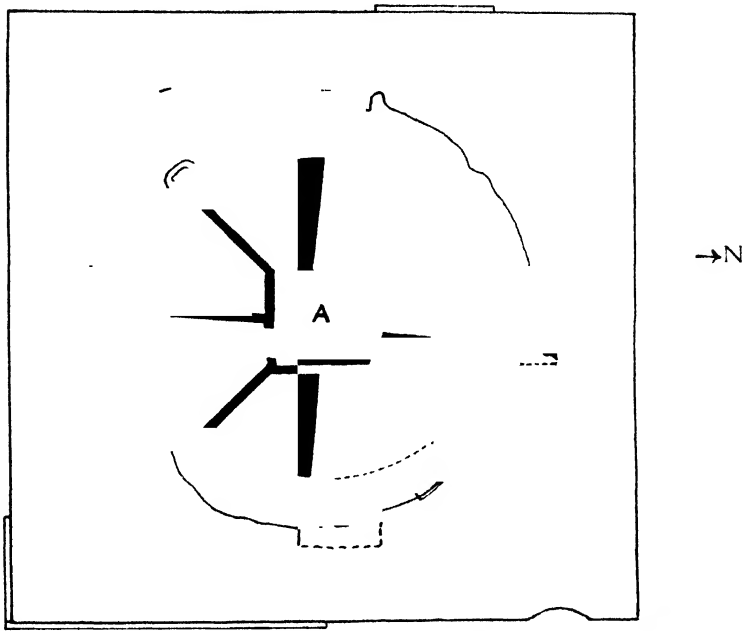
This remarkable site was discovered in March 1926 by Rangasvami Sarasvati and since 1926 Mr. Longhurst conducted excavations there till February 1931 when owing to financial depression all excavation works were stopped. The discoveries made during this period include a large number of ruined *vihāras*, apsidal *caityas*, *stūpas*, pavilions or *maṇḍapas*, a palace site, a stone-built wharf on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā, inscriptions, coins, relics of bones, pottery, sculptures and statues and over 500 magnificent bas-reliefs, some of them bearing inscriptions of Ikṣvāku kings and all belonging to the same period (2nd-3rd centuries A.D.). The style which the sculptures exhibit is clearly that of Amarāvātī. Among the sculptural decorations of two pillars from a palace site there are figures which betray Roman influence. One represents a bearded soldier, apparently a Scythian, wearing a Roman-like helmet, a long sleeved tunic and trousers, and holding a heavy spear (pl. 2). It will be noticed that his dress though un-Indian and betraying a northern origin is very different from the costume worn by Kaṇiṣka and the other Kuṣāna princes whose statues have been found at Māt in the Mathura District. The other sculpture (Pl. 3) is classical in appearance and shows a male figure, nude except for an *uttariya*, and holding a drinking horn (Greek—*rhyton*) in his left hand. At his side is a wine jar covered with an inverted drinking cup. The figure seems to be meant for a crude representation of Dionysus and suggests Roman influence. The very active sea-borne trade which was carried on between the Roman Empire and South India in the second century A.D. may account for the presence of this figure which was obviously copied from some classical example. An inscription on a slab showing the foot-prints of the Buddha (Buddhapāda) records the donation of a 'patipada' (*pratipada*) by Budhi, sister of Moda, the Saka : —

*Sakasa Modasa bhaginiya Budhiya patipāda deyadhama.*

EXCAVATIONS AT NĀGARJUNAKOṆḌA

SITE NO. 6

PLAN OF STŪPA, MONASTERY, CAITYAS AND MAṆḌAPA



- A—Stūpa
- B—Monastery
- C. & D—Caityas
- E—Maṇḍapa
- F—Small room
- G—Workshop
- H—Guard room?



### History

No less than 17 *Āyaka* pillars or pillars that stand on the drums of *stūpas* are inscribed which supply information about the history of the place. The characters are *Brāhmī* and the language is a standard *Prākṛt* related to *Pāli*.

The technical execution of these epigraphs is remarkable. The pillars on which they are found adorn the *stūpas*. It is clear that in the case of each *stūpa* there must have stood a row of five such pillars at each of the four cardinal points, their total number being 20 for each *stūpa*. In view of their prominent location, the important epigraphs are found on them so that they could easily catch the eye.

The pillars are referred to in the inscriptions as *Āyaka kām̐bhas*. Here as well as in Amarāvātī and Jaggayyapeṭa on the Paler river, a tributary of Kṛṣṇā, the arrangement of these pillars is the same, a feature not met with in other parts of India. The row of five columns stands on a projecting balcony which forms part of the procession path running around the body of the *aṇḍa* of the *stūpa*. These pillars occupy a position right opposite the entrances to the enclosure and as the stone railing surrounding the sanctuary has an entrance on each of the four cardinal points, the monument, when entire, must have had four sets of such pillars. They do not appear to have had any structural function as supporting members, but besides carrying well-known Buddhist emblems on their exposed surface, they were utilized for inscriptions, mostly dedicatory and associative.

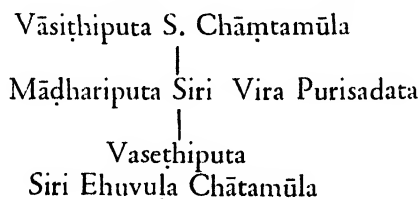
### Inscriptions

These records are in *Brāhmī* characters, the language being a standard *Prākṛt* related to *Pāli* which was used over a large territory. A similar language is also used in the Khāravēla inscriptions in Hathigumphā, Khaṇḍagiri-Udayagiri caves, Orissa. The dialect of the inscriptions has been described as a normalized semi-literary *Prākṛt* used by people whose home tongue was Dravidian and probably Kanarese. To quote an instance, the suffix *aṇaka* in *Viśākhaṇaka*, *sāgaraṁṇaka* formed from *Viśākha* and *sāgara* occurring in some of the inscriptions here are frequently met with in names from the



Bombay Presidency.<sup>2</sup> It evidently belongs to a dialect with a Dravidian, perhaps Kanarese, substratum. *b* occurs for *s* which also points to Kanarese. Some of the names find their explanation in Kanarese. Thus *kanda* means "child" and *chali* means "cold" in Kanarese. Thus the term *chali-kiremmaṇaka* occurring in one of the inscriptions probably is *chalikiraṇaka* which means the "moon". Another word *Karṛaṁbu* appears to be Kanarese and means "envy". As the dialect shows a strong Kanarese substratum we may not be wrong in inferring that the Ikkhāku (Skt. Ikṣvāku) kings (about whom the inscriptions speak) had come to the Kṛṣṇa country from the West.

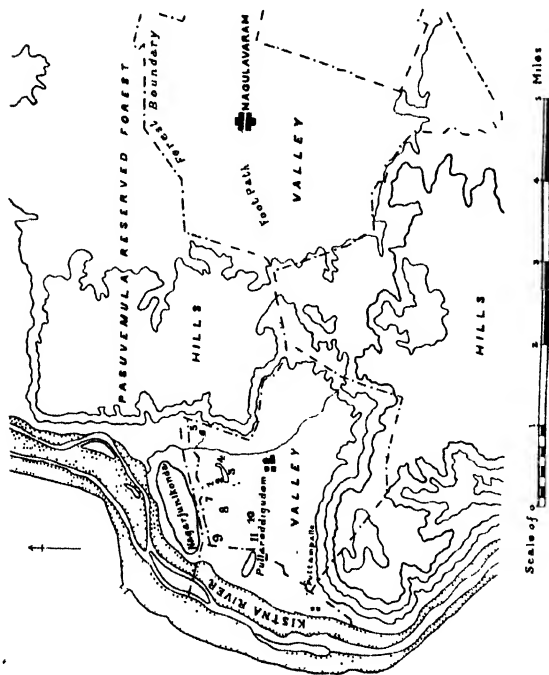
The records afford us interesting information about the southern Ikkhāku dynasty settled in the Āndhra country in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D., who claimed descent from Ikkhāku, the mythical progenitor of the Solar dynasty of Ayodhyā. The Jaggayyapeṭa inscriptions, which are executed exactly as in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, are dated in the 20th regnal year of an Ikkhāku king, Māḍhariputa Siri Virapurisadata. The Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions acquaint us with the names of several more members, male and female, of the same royal house. We also learn that they formed matrimonial alliances not only with the Mahārājas of Vanavāsa (North Kanara), but also with the kings, obviously the descendants of the Satrap Caṣṭana, who resided at Ujjayinī in Central India. They mention not only Māḍhariputa Siri-Vira-Purisadata in whose reign the principal sanctuaries of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa were founded, but also his father Vāsiṭhiputa Siri Chāṁtamūla and his son and successor Vāseṭhiputa Siri Ehuvuḷa Chātamūla and supply the following table:—



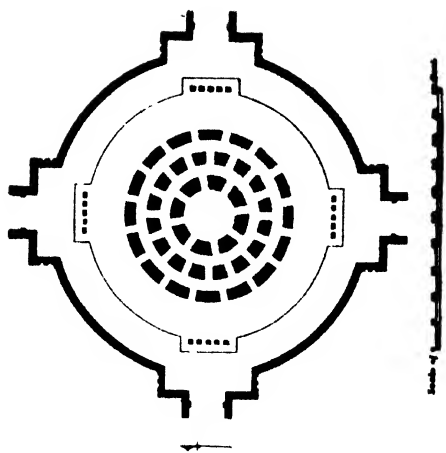
A curious fact about them is that while the kings followed Brahminism and performed Vedic sacrifices, (such as Agnihotra, Agniṣṭoma, Vājapeya and Aśvamedha), their consorts were devotees of Buddhism and erected monasteries and temples in honour of

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Luders 985, 993, 1000, 1018, 1020, 1033 (Kanheri); 1063-1065 (Kuda); 1088, 1091, 1097 (Karle); 1109, 1111 (Bedsa); 1141 (Nasik); 1171 (Junnar).

SITE PLAN SHOWING POSITIONS OF MONUMENTS DISCOVERED AT NĀGĀRJUNAKONḌA.



1. Great Stūpa No. 1.
2. Caitya No. 1, and Monastery No. 1.
3. Caitya No. 2, and Monastery No. 2.
4. Caitya Nos. 3 & 4, Monastery No. 3 and Stūpa No. 4.
5. Stūpa No. 2.
6. Stūpa No. 3, Monastery No. 4 and Stūpa No. 5.
7. Stūpa No. 6.
8. Monastery No. 5 & Stūpas Nos. 7 and 8.
9. Palace site.
10. Stūpa No. 9.
11. Wharf.
- 12.



Plan of the Great Stūpa at Nagārjunakonda,  
Guntur District



Buddha. The principal foundress was a princess called Chāmtisiri whose munificence is praised in not less than nine of the Āyaka pillar inscriptions belonging to the great *stūpa* (*Mahācetiya*) and which was founded by the lady in question in the sixth regnal year of King Siri Vira Purisadata. Chāmtisiri was also the foundress of a *caitya* and a monastic hall built close together on the eastern side of the Great *Stūpa*. The pillar inscriptions of the Great *Stūpa* speak of three more noble ladies who are associated with Chāmtisiri in her pious works. The most important is *Aḍavi Chāmtisiri*, daughter of King Chāmtamūla, sister of King Siri Vira Purisadata and the wife of Mahāsenāpati Mahātalavara<sup>3</sup> Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Khamdavisākha-ṇṇaka (Skt. Skandaviśākha) of the house of the Dhanakas. She is distinguished by the title of Mahātalavarī. The second lady is called *Cula-Chāmtisiriṇikā*, *cula* (younger) distinguishing her from her name-sake, the foundress of the Great *Stūpa*. She bears the title of Mahāsenāpatinī and is said to be a daughter of the *Kulabakas* and the wife of Mahāsenāpati Mahātalavara Vāsiṭhiputa Khamdacalikireṇṇaka (Skt. Skandacalikiraṇaka) of the Hiraṇṇakas. The third lady whose personal name is not given is called the wife of Mahāsenāpati Mahātalavara Vāsiṭhiputa Mahākamdasiri (Mahā Skandaśrī) of the *Pukiyas* and the mother of Mahāsenāpati Mahātalavara Viṇḥusiri (Viṣṇuśrī). If Mahākamdasiri and Kandasiri are one and the same person, it follows that the lady in question was a co-wife (*sapatnī*) of Chāmtisiri, for in the case of Chāmtisiri also she is referred to as the wife of Mahāsenāpati Mahātalavara Vāsiṭhiputa Kamdasiri of the Pukiya family (Pl. 4).

Another important inscription was found in a ruined *caitya* on a hill which contains the most important group of monastic buildings including two monasteries, three apsidal *caityas* built of brick and plaster and the remains of two *stūpas*. The *caitya*, apsidal in shape,

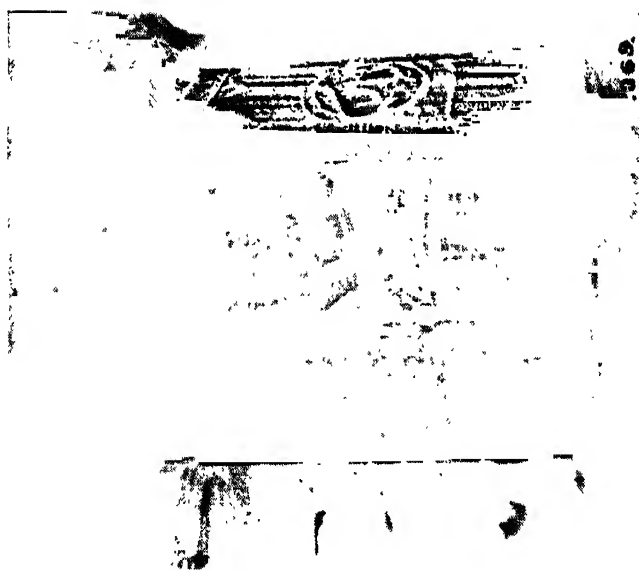
3 The term *Mahātalavara* is met with in other inscriptions in South India and must denote a high dignity whose exact function is not clear. *Talavara* seems to be a term borrowed from some Dravidian language. Cf. the Tamil *Talavāy* = General, Tamil *Talaiyāri* = Village watchman, or Kanarese *Talavara* = watchman, beadle. *Talavari* in Telugu means a beadle, porter, guard, hangman. *Talavar* is the name given to a subdivision of high class Khatri in the Punjab. According to Subodhikā—

तलवराः तुष्टभूपालप्रदत्तपट्टबन्धविभूषिता राजस्थानीयाः ॥

was founded by the princess Chāṁtisiri while another of this type was built by a simple *upāsikā*, *Bodhisiri* by name, who does not appear to be related to the royal family of the Ikkhakus. This *caitya* or temple seems to have been founded in the 14th regnal year of Māḍhari-puta Siri Vira Purisadata and dedicated to the fraternities of Ceylonese monks who had converted Kāśmīra, Gāndhāra, Cīna, Cilāta (the Cilātas are the same non-Aryan tribe often met with in Sanskrit literature under the name of Kirātas), Tosālī (present Dhāuli in Kalinga), Avarānta (the tract of the country lying along the Western Coast of the Peninsula, the capital of which was Sopara (which according to the Ceylonese chronicles was converted to Buddhism by Dharmarakṣita), Vaṅga, Vanavāsi or Vanavāsa (North Kanara), Yavana, Damīla (the Tamil country), Pālūra (identified by S. Levi in *Jour. Asiatique* with Dantapura on the coast of Orissa); and the isle Tambapamṇi (Ceylon). Other pious works by Bodhisiri which were evidently additions to existing buildings are also mentioned in this inscription together with the localities at which each of them was executed. The list of her works includes a stone *maṇḍapa* at the eastern gate of the *Mahācaitya* at Kaṇṭakasela which reminds us of the emporium *Kantikossula* which Ptolemy mentions as being situated on the east coast after the mouths of the *Maisolos* (Kṛṣṇā). In the same inscription the city is called Vijayapurī and the hill on which Bodhisiri built a monastery and an apsidal temple for the Ceylonese monks is mentioned as *Cula-Dhammagiri* on Śrī Parvata. The hill is an off-shoot of the surrounding Nallamalais. It seems from the inscription that the ancient name for the Nallamalais was *Śrī Parvata* (cf. Śrīśailam). The mention of *Śrī Parvata* is particularly interesting as according to a Tibetan tradition the famous Buddhist divine Nāgārjuna spent the latter part of his life in a monastery of that name in South India<sup>4</sup>. If this convent is the same as the *Vihāra* on the *Śrī Parvata* to the east of Vijayapurī of our inscription it would follow that the association of Nāgārjuna with this locality has been preserved to the present day in the name Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Nāgārjuna's name occurs also in connection with the erection of the stone railing to the Amarāvati *stūpa* which was added to the monument between the second and third centuries A.D. It will be seen that Nāgārjuna was living in the

4 Wassilef, *Der Buddhismus*, vol. I, p. 220.

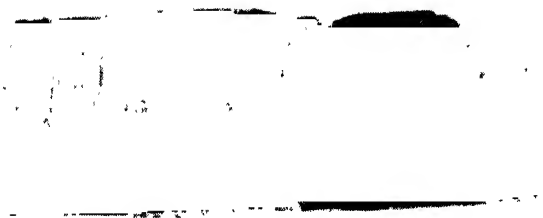
PLATE 2



A Scythian Soldier or Guard (*Kaŋcukin*),  
From Palace, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

*IHQ., June, 1952.*

PLATE 3



Dionysus (?) in lower panel.  
From Palace, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa

0.366



Kṛṣṇā valley when the monasteries on the *Cula-Dhammagiri* were in their prime.

Yet another inscription records the foundation of a *vihāra* by Mahādevī Bhaṭṭidevā, the daughter-in-law of Śrī Chāṃtamūla, wife of Siri Vira Purisadata and the mother of Mahārāja Siri Ehuvaḷa Chāṃtamūla. Another inscription dated in the 11th year of Siri Ehuvaḷa Chāṃtamūla records the foundation of a *vihāra* by a lady *Mahādevī Koḍabalisiri*, the grand-daughter of Siri Chāṃtamūla, daughter of Siri Vira-Purisadata and sister of Mahārāja Vāseṭhiputa Siri Ehuvaḷa Chāṃtamūla and the wife of the Mahārāja of Vanavāsa, the ancient name of North Kanara. We have thus information about three rulers of the Ikkhāku dynasty, who were not Buddhists but who appear to have been votaries of Mahāsenā or Skanda as will be seen from the expression *Virūpākṣapati-Mahāsenā-parigabhitasa* which is applied to Siri Chāṃtamūla. *Virūpākṣa* would indicate the hosts of which Skanda is the leader.

The nomenclature of the Ikkhākus coupling their personal names with metronymics like *Māḍhariputa*, *Vāsiṭhiputa* seems to be a practice borrowed from the earlier Andhra kings (cf. *Vāsiṭhiputa* Siri Pulumāvi, *Gotamiputa Sātakarṇi*). There are also two more points to be noted about these kings. The name Chāṃtamūla borne by the father of Vira Purisadata re-occurs in the name of the latter's son. This seems to point to the custom of naming a child after its grandfather, a custom known to the Vākāṭakas, the Pallavas, and the Cālukyas. Also we note that among the consorts of Siri Vira Purisadata were two of his own cousins.

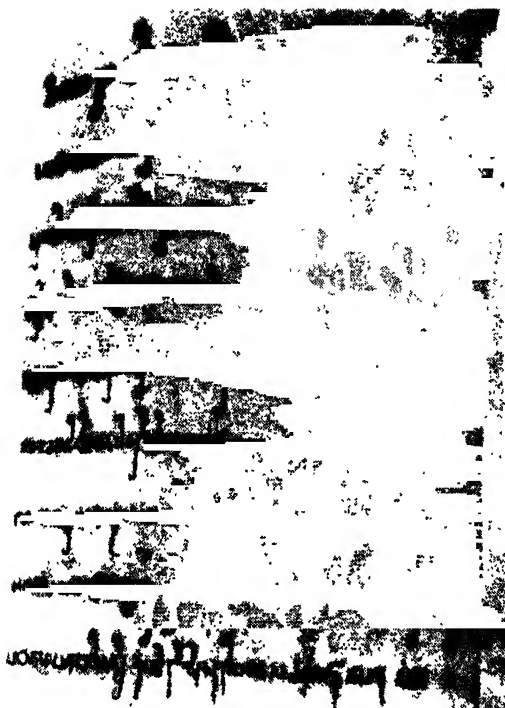
In the inscription of Bodhisiri mention is made of two *vihāras* called *Kulaha-vihāra* and *Sihala-vihāra*, the former perhaps owing its existence to the family of the *Kulabakas* to which Cula Chamtisiri (who was associated with Chamtisiri in her pious foundations) is said to have been a daughter. The *Sihala-vihāra* must have been a monastery founded either by a Ceylonese or more probably for the accommodation of Ceylonese monks. This *Sihala-vihāra* is said to have contained a shrine with a *Bodhi* tree (*Sihala-vihāra Bodhi-rukha-pāsādo*) which is a necessary adjunct of the Buddhist monasteries of Ceylon up to the present day. Not only the mention of the *Sihala-vihāra* but also the dedication of a *cetiya-ghara* to the fraternities of Tambapamṇi shows that very cordial relations must have



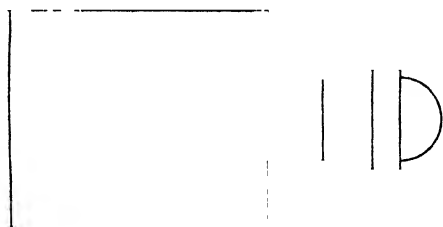
existed between the Buddhist community of the Kṛṣṇā valley and their co-religionists in Ceylon. The existence of such relations can be easily accounted for from the sea-borne trade carried on between the ports of Ceylon and Kaṇṭakasela, the greatest emporium of the Kṛṣṇā delta.

This trade was no doubt responsible for the flourishing state of Buddhism in the Kṛṣṇā valley. The Buddhists were largely recruited from the commercial classes and it was their wealth which enabled not only the merchants but also their royal masters to raise monuments of such magnificence as the Great *Stūpa* of Amarāvati. In the seventh century when Yuan Chwang visited this country which he calls *To-na-kie-tse-kia* (which corresponds to Dhanakataka or Dhanakataka mentioned in the Amarāvati inscriptions) the monasteries were mostly deserted and already in ruins. The decline of Buddhism on the lower Kṛṣṇā was due to various causes; besides the general wane of that religion all over India there were causes at work such as the decline of the sea-borne trade with the West which had caused large quantities of Roman gold to pour into South India. There was also the epoch-making conquest of the South by the Gupta emperor Samudragupta and the rise of powerful dynasties devoted to Brāhmanism such as the Pallavas and the Cālukyas in South India.

In connection with the Buddhism that was prevailing here in the second and third centuries A.D. our attention is drawn to a few sect names mentioned in the local inscriptions (occurring on the *Āyaka* pillars). In two inscriptions the dedication is stated to be made for the benefit of or acceptance of the *aparamahavinaseliyas* (*acariyanam aparamahavinaseliyanam suparigahitam imam mahacetiya navakam-mam*). In both cases the sign for *i* over *vi* is quite distinct so that we cannot read *Mahāvana* as was done by Burgess and Hultzsch in the case of an Amarāvati inscription, where also the correct reading is *Mahāvinaseliyanam Sariputanam*.....Hultzsch associated the name with the *Mahavanasala* at Vaisali well known from the Buddha legend on the strength of his reading as *Mahāvana*. A fragmentary inscription of the same period from Allūru which reads as “*ayiranam Puvase liyanam nigayasa*” (Skt. *āryānām Pūrvaśailiyanām Nikāyasya*) affords interesting reference to the sect of *Pūrvaśailiyyas*. The Ceylonese chronicles *Mahā* and *Dīpa*



Record of Vāsithiputa Mahā Kamdasiri's wife, also  
mother of Vinhusiri—3rd Century A.D.  
From Āyaka Platform



PLAN

Scale of 0 4 8 16 24 Feet

Caitya No. 3.  
3rd Century A.D.



*Vamśa* mention the *Pubba* and the *Apara-selikas*, the two subdivisions of the Mahāsāṅghikas. The term *Aparaselikas* is perhaps an abbreviation of the *Aparamahavinaseliyas* of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions. Can it be that the two sects known as *Pubba* and *Aparaselikas* originated from the two monasteries of *Pubbasela* and *Aparasela* that Yuan Chwang mentions as having existed on the hills to the east and west of the capital of Dhannakaṭaka<sup>5</sup>.

Another inscription, also from an *Āyaka* pillar, refers to another Buddhist sect, *Babusutiya* (*imam vibaro sava-jina niyuto acariyanam babusutiyānam patithapito*). *Babusutiya* is the Pāli Bahusuttiya (in Sanskrit *Babuśrutiya*). Other interesting names of sects or congregations also occur, such as *Ayira-hamgha* (*Ārya-Saṅgha*) and *Mahisa-saka* (*Mahīśāsaka*).

The expression *Samma Sambuddhasa dhātuvara parigabita Mahācetiya*... occurs so often in the inscriptions here. If *dhātuvara parigabita* may be translated as "absorbed by the best of elements (*dhātu*) i.e., by *Nirvāṇa*" and if the inscriptions belonged to the Mahāsāṅghikas, a conjectural explanation of *dhātuvara* as *dharmadhātu* which was sometimes a kind of Buddhist *Brahman* for the followers of Mahāyāna will not be out of place. It is however possible to suppose—and perhaps we are nearer the truth when we do so—that the *Mahācetiya* has been specified in the inscriptions as "protected by the corporeal remains of the Buddha himself."

### The Monuments

Mr. Longhurst's excavations<sup>6</sup> resulted in the discovery of a large *stūpa* (*Mahācetiya* of the inscriptions, pl. 5) and several smaller *stūpas* (*eight* in number), four *vihāras* or monasteries, six *caityas* or apsidal temples (pl. 6), four pavilions or *maṇḍapas*, a palace site and stone built wharf on the Kṛṣṇā bank. They are built of large bricks, on average, 20" × 10" × 3" and of exactly the same dimensions as some of the bricks found at Bulandibāgh near Patna (Pāṭaliputra). The bricks were laid in mud mortar and the walls were covered with plaster. The mouldings and other ornamentations of these brick

5 Dhannakaṭaka has been identified with Amarāvati, the name being preserved to the present day in the name of Dharaṇikoṭa, a hamlet of Amarāvati.

6 The writer was trained in excavation in 1929-30 by Mr. Loughurst at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and is indebted to him.

structures were usually executed in *stucco* and the buildings were white-washed from top to bottom "not only to protect the plaster but also as a suitable ground for colour work and gilding". The pillars, floors and important sculptures were of white or grey lime-stone resembling marble and hence easy to work. No other stone was used and it was evidently brought to the site by means of the river and landed at a stone-built wharf, 250 feet long, 50 feet wide and 6 feet high along the water front. Three rows of stone pillars extend from end to end indicating that this long building perhaps served as a Customs-house or Goods-yard indicating thereby that the river traffic must have been considerable. In the decoration of several of the monuments here, abundant use is made of richly sculptured slabs of limestone.

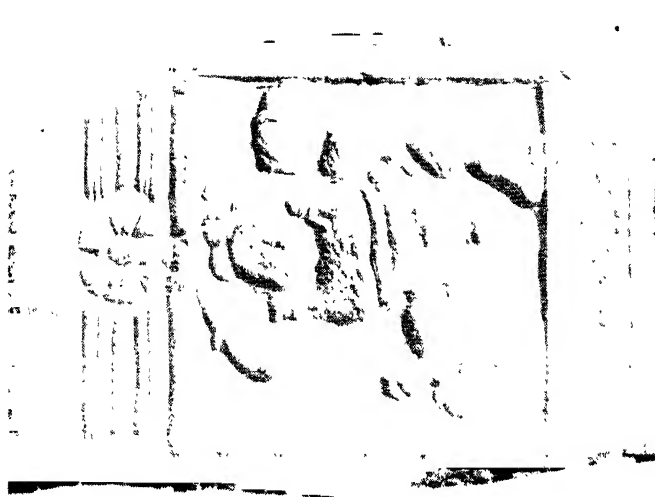
### *The Caityas*

With the exception of a few little shrines found in some of the monastic establishments which are square on plan, the *caityas* discovered here are apsidal, oblong on plan (pl. 6). The apse is at one end and the doorway on the other, the walls are thick and high and the roof was built of brick in the form of a barrel-vault. There were no windows. The interior shows plaster and white-wash on the walls. The floors and steps were of stone; the front step was cut in the form of a semi-circle usually known as a "moon-stone". Generally the moon-stones are plain but there are also cases in which the outer border is decorated with a row of animals, such as lions, deer, buffaloes, horses, bulls, elephants and boars in bas-relief. The fact that in Ceylon this architectural member was developed by the Buddhists into a thing of surprising beauty as at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa could show that Ceylon is either the parent of this motif or *vice versa*. The exterior walls of the *caityas* are ornamented with a few rows of simple mouldings along the base and cornice while the summit of the wagon-headed roof was adorned with a row of tall pottery finials (*stūpis*). In some of the *caityas* there is a small stone *dāgaba* or votive *stūpa* as the object of worship. In some others statues of the Buddha were found. The former may be termed *stūpa-caityas* and the latter *Buddha-caityas*.

### *The Vibāras*

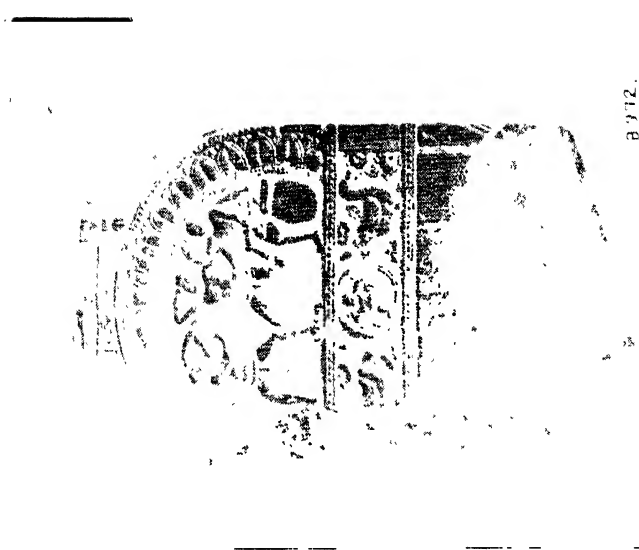
Each monastic establishment was complete in itself, and contained as the unit a *vibāra* for the monks to dwell, an apsidal *caitya* or two for prayers and a circular *stūpa* for worship and circumambula-

PLATE 8



Dwarfish Stout Child Dancing.  
From Palace Pillar, Nāgājunakoṇḍa  
*IHQ*, June, 1952.

PLATE 9



3312.

Men (Water Carriers) dancing in imitation of  
women. From Palace, Nāgājunakoṇḍa.



tion (pl. 7). On plan the *vihāra* was a rectangular courtyard enclosed by a brick wall. In the centre was a stone paved hall with a roof supported by stone pillars. All round the enclosure abutting the outer walls was a row of cells for the monks, often with a verandah in front. Some of the cells were used as store rooms, a few as shrines and there was usually one large room which served as a refectory. Six such monasteries were exposed.

Ruined pillared halls of all sizes which were erected by pious donors as rest houses for pilgrims and visitors abound at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

In the centre of the valley where the ancient city of Vijayapurī stood (Sk. 1), the ruins of a large *maṇḍapa* were discovered and five very attractive stone pillars were unearthed. The pillars appear to have supported the roof of a hall belonging to a palace. No pillars of this kind were found elsewhere, those belonging to the monasteries being either plain or decorated with lotus medallions on the cubical portions of the shafts, but never carved with bas-relief scenes or figures like those found on these palace pillars. The Scythian warrior and the figure resembling Dionysus occurring on these pillars have already been described (pls. 2-3). A dwarfish child dragging a toy-cart (cf. *Mṛcchakaṭī*) another dancing, three women (the three graces) dancing and 3 men dancing afford interesting studies on some of the pillars (pls. 8-10).

### *Stūpas*

*Stūpas* were erected by the Buddhists as monuments enclosing relics of the Buddha or Buddhist saints (*śārirakas*) which were placed in a reliquary and deposited in a stone coffer or coffers over which the *stūpa* was built. Some however contained no relics but were merely commemorative (*uddeśakas*) of important events in the life of the Buddha, while some were built purely as works of religious merit.

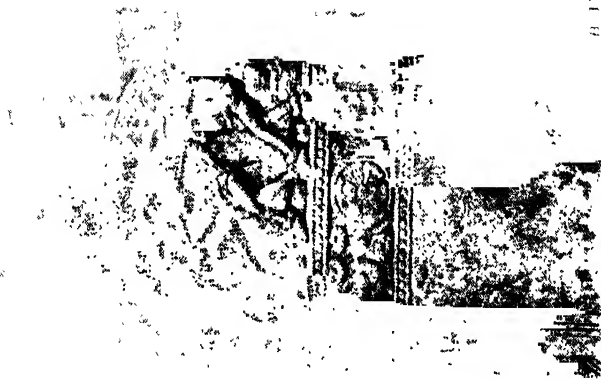
Unlike North Indian *stūpas* which were generally built of solid brick work, the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa *stūpas* are constructed in the form of a wheel on plan, with hub, spokes and tyre complete, all executed in brick work, the open spaces between the radiating walls forming the spokes, being filled in with earth and debris before the outer brick casing of the *stūpa* was built up and the dome closed. They were in the form of a wheel on plan. But in section their construction resembled that of an umbrella (pl. 5). These *stūpas*, of which



at least nine were discovered, are of all sizes, ranging in diameter from 20 feet to 106 feet like the *Great Stūpa* (pl. 5). In the smaller *stūpa* the central pillar forming the hub of the wheel was sometimes square on plan (pl. 11), but in the larger *stūpas* as in the case of the *Great Stūpa* it was circular like the staff of an umbrella which it seems to have been purposely designed to resemble (pl. 5). The *stūpas* were built of large bricks 20"x10" x 3" laid in mud mortar and covered with plaster from top to bottom. The dome rested on a drum 3 to 5 feet high according to the sizes of the *stūpas*. At the four cardinal points a rectangular platform projected outwards and served as an altar for the floral offerings of the worshippers (pl. 12). This is a special feature of the Āndhra *stūpas* unknown to Northern India. In the larger and important *stūpas* such as the *Great Stūpa* here, each platform supported a group of five stone pillars called *Āyaka-kāmbhas*, and thus each *stūpa* had twenty such pillars. It is on these pillars that the inscriptions discussed already are engraved. The *Great Stūpa* appears to have had a railing with open gateways which were of carved wood, of which nothing remains, and stood on brick foundations which still remain. Only on very rare occasions the railing was executed on stone. In the case of some of these smaller *stūpas* a circular brick parapet wall as in Ceylon took the place of the wooden railing of the earlier *stūpas*. The railing enclosed a processional path which encircled the *stūpa's* base. Within this enclosure, in the case of an important monument, a number of small shrines and images, the gifts of devotees, sprang up later on. Outside the gateways were sometimes high pillars on either side of the entrance surmounted by the Buddhist symbols carved in the round, such as a wheel or a miniature *stūpa* (pl. 13). It was also here that vendors of flowers and garlands had their stalls and sold their wares to the worshippers passing through the gates and deposited their offerings on the *āyaka* platforms facing the gateways (pl. 12). The *Āyaka* platforms were the most important features of the *stūpas* for no trouble or expense was spared to make them attractive. All the best sculptures recovered at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa originally belonged to the *āyaka* platforms including some friezes superbly carved which served as cornice stones to these ornate platforms.

Two kinds of *stūpas* existed here, one simple and built of brick and plaster, and the other profusely decorated from top to bottom,

PLATE 10

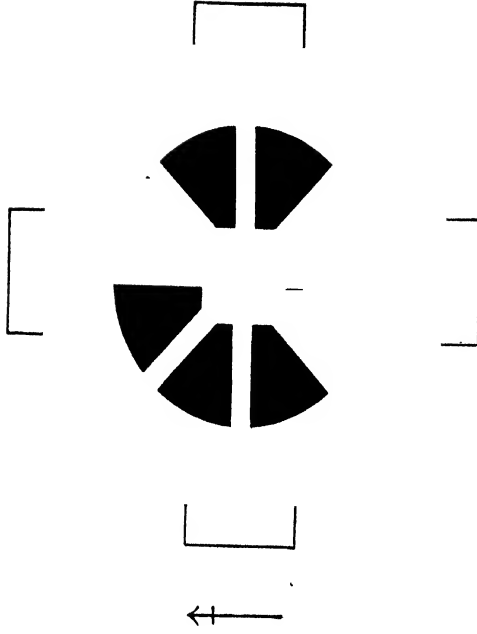


13 17

Women dancing (three graces).  
From Palace, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

*HQ., June, 1952.*

PLATE 11



Scale of 0 6 12 18 24 Feet

Plan of small Stūpa No. 8  
at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa



the lower portion faced with carved limestone slabs fixed in mortar to the brick work of the *stūpa*. Over the *vedikā* or drum is the dome and on top of the dome is a rectangular coffer-like object called *tee* (*barmikā*). The *barmikā* served as receptacle for valuable offerings made to the shrine and its lid is always shown as made of heavy slabs or wood placed one above the other and invariably surmounted by one or more umbrellas. And the Indian emblem of religious sovereignty is the umbrella.

The ornamentation of decorated *stūpas* was a mixture of stone carving and *stucco* work. When stone was used it was applied to the face of the brick-work and fixed in mortar. It extended from the plinth to frieze encircling the middle portion of the dome upto a point which marks the springing of the dome. Above this frieze all ornamentation was executed in *stucco* as flat slabs of stone could not be fixed to the curved surface of the dome. Open joints and other faults in the stone facings were rectified in plaster. When the decorative work was finished the structure was white-washed completely to hide any faults in the work. The white limestone used was particularly suitable for this kind of patch-work decoration, as the stone is of the right colour, soft and easy to work, and being somewhat absorbent takes plaster or white-wash readily. This method of decorating a *stūpa* partly with stone slabs and partly with plaster ornamentation, was also employed by the Gāndhāra Buddhists. Gāndhāra influence is readily discernible in many of the Āndhra sculptures, and the inscriptions inform us that there was considerable intercourse between the Āndhra Buddhists and those of Gāndhāra. Roman influence was noticed in a few of the sculptural antiquities recovered from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

Mr. Longhurst found the relic not in the centre of the Great *Stūpa* but next to the outer retaining wall on the north side (pl. 5). It consisted of a tiny bit of bone in a gold box with lid, which again was contained in a cylindrical silver casket. The latter had been placed in an ordinary earthenware pot which was found broken and the silver relic casket crushed. The *Mahācetiya*, though closely agreeing with the Great *Stūpa* of Amarāvātī in plan, lacks, however, the rich sculptural decoration of the latter.

*Stūpa* 6, like the *Mahācetiya*, was found to be constructed in the form of a wheel ; the brick walls forming the spokes divide the

interior into eight triangular chambers. In the northern chamber a deposit of relics was found (pl. 14). The relics were contained in a small gold reliquary which in its turn had been placed in a little silver casket in the shape of a *stūpa*. Along with some beads of jade, coral and pearl there came to light two small bullae of thin gold, measuring five-eighths of an inch in diameter. Each is embossed with a head which makes the impression of being meant for a portrait and reveals Roman influence.

It is worth noting that a few Buddha statues found here represent Buddha clad in a robe with schematic folds in the same manner as in the case of a few Amarāvātī statues.

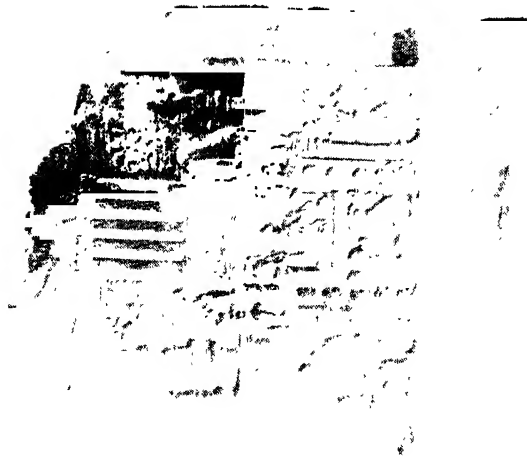
Nearly 500 pieces of sculptures recovered in the course of Mr. Longhurst's diggings include several splendid carved beams and a number of upright slabs with a vertical arrangement of bas-reliefs, the scenes being taken from Buddha's life, his *jātakas* or pre-births or other events of folk-lore. In some reliefs a synoptic mode of illustration is adopted, i.e. the artist epitomises the story and combines the successive stages of the story in one panel, his aim being brevity. Those scenes relating to the Buddha's life and his pre-births (*jātakas*) are drawn from the early Buddhist texts such as:—The *Jātaka*, *Nidāna-kathā*, *Lalitavistara*, *Mahāvastu*, *Buddha Carita* and the *Sundarananda* of Aśvaghōṣa, the *Divyāvadāna*, Buddha-ghoṣa's commentary to the *Dhammapada*, the *Sakka-panha-suttanta* and the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* of the Dighanikāya, as well as the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, a commentary to Dighanikāya, not to speak of a few Chinese and Ceylonese versions of the life of the Buddha.

#### *Recent Excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa<sup>7</sup>*

Excavations were resumed at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa by the writer in 1938 in three areas (sites 2, 5 and 6). The area which is the largest and the most important (site 6) revealed a *stūpa* (pl. 16), two *caityas* and a monastery with a central *maṇḍapa*, together forming the unit, and to the north of them a small room, a workshop and a chamber, circular on the outside but square within (pl. 7). The *stūpa* is 40'9" in diameter including the *āyaka* platforms, 9'6" in length and projecting 3' from the drum. Several casing slabs of limestone, most of

7 Details of the excavations between 1938 and 1940 will be continued in the next issue of the *I.H.Q.*

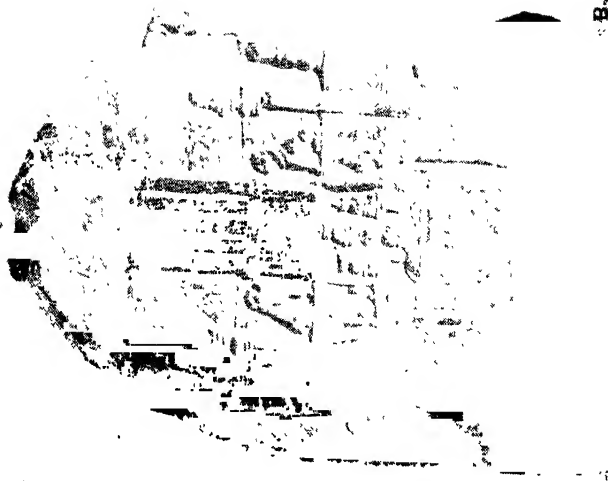
PLATE 12



8463.

Āyaka Platform or altar for floral offerings.  
Note worshippers buying flowers at the gates.  
*IHQ, June, 1952.*

PLATE 13



8440.

Stūpa slab with figure of Buddha holding three relic  
caskets.



them with intricate carving, were found in the *stūpa* area, a few of them illustrating scenes from the Buddha's life.

To the east of the *stūpa* two apsidal *caityas* facing each other were found, one on the south which enshrined a votive *stūpa*, (pl. 7) and the other on the north enshrining an image of the Buddha made of lime-stone. Between the legs of the statue of the Buddha is a socket drilled on the upper part of the *padmāsana* on which the Buddha is standing, which was hidden from view by a perfectly close-fitting lime-stone piece. This was removed and disclosed a hole  $1\frac{3}{4}$ " deep and  $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter in which was found a gold tube  $\frac{3}{4}$ " high and  $1\frac{1}{3}$ " in diameter, containing 95 pearls, one of them  $1\frac{1}{8}$ " in diameter and the rest smaller than mustard seeds, and bone ash (?) The mouth of the tube was closed by hand pressing. The find is of the utmost importance as it proves that the ceremony of consecration (*pratiṣṭhāpanā*) which was evidently resorted to during the installation of the Buddha image, was very much the same as in modern Hindu ritual.

To the east of the *caityas* was exposed a monastery (pl. 7) in an area  $95'8'' \times 72'2''$  with three wings with a general arrangement of five cells for each wing (pl. 7), each cell on an average  $9'3'' \times 7'$ . In the centre of these wings, where one would expect the courtyard, was found a *mandapa* with lime-stone pillars forming five bays. On the south-eastern corner of the southern wing of the cells was found a stone trough for urinal in the shape of a rectangular socket sloping towards the south. In its centre was drilled a hole  $\frac{1}{2}$ " wide through which water flowed into a covered under-ground drain which proceeded to a length of 22' towards the south and emptied the water in a soak-pit,  $10' \times 8' \times 6'$ , formed by alternate layers of rubble, pebbles, sand and lime (pl. 7).

The northern wing of the cells appears to have been very important, for in cell No. 1 was found on the floor a lime-stone *pūrṇa-ghaṭa*, 15" high,  $10\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter at the body but 4" at the mouth (pl. 15). The pot was originally designed in 4 parts, bottom  $3\frac{3}{4}$ " high, narrow belt above it  $1\frac{1}{2}$ " wide, upper part of the body of the pot  $3\frac{1}{4}$ " high and neck  $1\frac{1}{2}$ " high. A rim  $\frac{3}{4}$ " high and  $5\frac{1}{8}$ " in diameter is placed over the neck. The mouth is covered by a close fitting double *padma* which originally supported a ceremonial umbrella,  $6\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter, connected to the seed vessel of the double



*padma* by means of a shaft. Such elaborate arrangements are commensurate with the nature of its contents for the *pūrṇaghāṭa* yielded two small teeth, the wisdom tooth  $\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter, and one from the front file  $\frac{1}{8}$ " wide, both in an excellent state of preservation. The tooth-relics are of small size. The *pūrṇaghāṭa* was otherwise empty. According to local tradition the tooth-relics are believed to be those of Nāgārjuna after whom the place is no doubt named. Subsequent excavations must prove the validity of this tradition.

A large number of *stucco* ornamentation was found at the north eastern corner of the monastery near the edge of the *maṇḍapa*, as also in the area between the *caityas* and the landing of the *stūpa*. The designs vary from the common lotus and geometrical patterns to the rare acanthus and animal heads such as of the lion, tiger, monkey and of the serpent. Their well-preserved nature would suggest their possible location underneath cornices where they were safe from human touch and sun and rain.

A small room and a big workshop were found to the north of the *caityas* (pl. 7). The room  $12'9'' \times 6'3''$  contained a number of spouted vessels, terracotta figurines, some of them supporting lamps on their heads and a large number of lamps which were probably required for use in the adjoining monastery. Among finds of interest are a *kumbha-bārati*, i.e. a pot with a row of oil lamps fixed on its body near the mouth, which is one of the auspicious marks in Indian ritual.

A workshop  $12'9''$  broad but whose length cannot be given as excavation was done only to a length of  $26'6''$  revealed on its floor 61 lime-stone slabs laid in a file as in a factory, suggestive of a sculptor's place of work. Several chippings of lime-stone and other stones in it add weight to the above identification. Out of the 61 slabs, 48 are uncarved coping slabs of a rail while the others are the cross-bars and uprights bearing carvings. In this workshop was also found a grey lime-stone slab,  $1'8'' \times 1'3''$ , bearing in outline a sketch of the bracket end of a frieze showing a *Sālabhañjikā* standing in graceful pose and holding the half-worked branch of a tree, her right arm on her waist, while by her side is an attendant holding a toilet box for her use.



B 472

Relics Recovered From Stūpa 6 (1) Silver caskets (2) Bone Relic,  
(3) Gold Reliquary (actual size). Nāgārjunakoṇḍa,  
Guntur District.



Limestone Pūrṇaghāṭa, from cell 1 in the northern  
Wing of monastery, site 6 with parasol in position.  
Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Guntur District



## Gauḍa

### 1. *Gauḍa as the name of a city*

Gauḍa (usually written *Gaur* in English) was the residence of several dynasties of the Muslim rulers of Bengal for many centuries from the establishment of Muḥammadan rule in the country about the close of the twelfth century A. D. The ruins of the city lie in lat.  $24^{\circ}52'$ , long.  $88^{\circ}10'$  to the north or left bank of the Ganges and south of the modern town of Malda, headquarters of the district of that name in West Bengal. The traces of the ruined city with occasional buildings of Muḥammadan times extend over an immense area now chiefly covered with jungle. As late as the middle of the sixteenth century a European traveller gives the following account of the city of Gauḍa: "It is situated on the banks of the Ganges and is said to be three of our leagues in length and to contain 200000 inhabitants. On the one side it has the river for its defence and on the landward faces a wall of great height.....the streets are thronged with the concourse and traffic of people.....that they cannot force their way past.....a great part of the houses of this city are stately and well wrought buildings." In 1683, another European traveller who visited the old city in ruins says, "We spent 3 hours in seeing the ruins especially of the palace which has been.....in my judgment considerably bigger and more beautiful than the Grand Signor's seraglio at Constantinople or any other palace that I have seen in Europe."<sup>1</sup>

In Muslim times, the city of Gauḍa was also known by the name Lakhnautī no doubt a corruption of Sanskrit Lakṣmaṇāvātī. This name was apparently after that of King Lakṣmaṇasena (*circa* 1189-1206 A.D.) of the Sena dynasty, who was ousted from the western and northern districts of Bengal by the Muhammadans. The Senas thus appear to have had their capital or at least a secondary capital at Gauḍa. The city of Rāmāvātī (called Rāmautī by the Muslim writers), named after the Pāla king Rāmapāla (*circa* 1077-1120 A.D.) and the capital or a secondary capital of

1 *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *Gour*.

the later Pālas of Bengal and Bihar, was probably also situated in the vicinity of the present site of Gauḍa. Thus Gauḍa flourished as an important city of Eastern India for a considerable period of time before the establishment of Muslim rule, and pre-Muslim rulers of the country often built new cities named after them in the vicinity of the site of the old city.

The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini who flourished in North-Western India about the fifth century B.C. speaks of a city called Gauḍapura. But the rule *pure prācām* which immediately precedes the rule *ariṣṭa-gauḍa-pūrve ca* suggests that both the cities, viz., Ariṣṭapura and Gauḍapura mentioned in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, were situated outside the eastern part of India in a region which was more or less fully Aryanised before the composition of the grammatical work in question<sup>2</sup>. There is again no reason to believe that the Aryanisation of South-western Bengal (in which the Gauḍa country was situated) made any appreciable progress in the age of Pāṇini<sup>3</sup>. Thus the identification of Pāṇini's Gauḍapura with the city of Gauḍa in Bengal is highly improbable. The name *Gauḍa* is supposed to be derived from the word *guḍa* meaning 'sugar'. The country of which Gauḍa was the chief city was also known by the same name possibly because it was famous in ancient time for its production of sugar. But whether the name of the city was applied to the country or that of the country to its chief city cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. The fact however that, in the seventh century A.D., the capital of the Gauḍa country was called Karṇasuvarṇa (modern Rāṅgāmāṭi, about eleven miles to the south of Murshidabad, headquarters of the district of that name to the south of the Ganges and Malda) seems to suggest that the city was named after the country. This fact also indicates that the city of Gauḍa was built in its present site to the south of Malda some time after the seventh century probably in the age of the Pālas. It is interesting to note in this connection that all the *jaya-skandhāvāras* (i.e., residences or temporary capitals) of the Pāla kings, including Rāmavati-nagara (in the vicinity of the site of Gauḍa) were situated on the Ganges. Urged by their preference for a city on the main course of the river, the Pāla kings may

2 Cf. S. Sen, *Vāṅgālā Sāhityer Itihāsa*, vol. I, 2nd ed., p. 4.

3 See my paper "Spread of Aryanism in Bengal," recently contributed to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Calcutta.

have transferred the headquarters of the Gauḍa country from Karṇasuvarṇa to the present site of Gauḍa in the Malda District. This seems to have been done after the main current of the river had begun to pass through the Padmā and the Bhāgīrathī (the original Ganges), on which Karṇasuvarṇa was situated, had begun to be gradually less important as a watercourse. There is moreover reason to believe that originally the Ganges flowed by a route through the middle of the present District of Malda so that the city of Gauḍa lay on its southern or right bank.

About the ancient course of the Ganges, a distinguished writer says, "The tract between Malda and Murshidabad was the ancient Ganges delta where the river split up into numerous spill channels, the most important of which appeared to be the Sarasvatī, the Bhāgīrathī and the Bhairab. Leaving the hills of Rajmahal, the Ganges seems to have passed northwards through the modern Kalindri, and then southwards into the lower course of the Mahānandā, east of the ruins of ancient Gaur. There was also the south-eastern branch of the Ganges (modern Padmā), the bifurcation being pretty old and shown in Ptolemy's map. In the oldest of modern maps, De Barros' (1550) and Gastaldi's (1561), Gaur is shown on the west of the Ganges. Leaving Gaur, the main waters of the Ganges turned southward and flowed through the channel of the Bhairab (as Kṛttivāsa, the reputed author who flourished in the fourteenth century, indicated) and from at least the twelfth to the sixteenth century, through the Sarasvatī into the Bay, while the ancient eastern branch of the Ganges is traceable in the *jhils* and morasses which extend from Purnea to the sea. The Ganges thus forsook this course in favour of the channel through which the Bhāgīrathī now passes."<sup>4</sup> The situation of the Gauḍa capital Karṇasuvarṇa on its banks seems to suggest that the present Bhāgīrathī carried the main current of the Ganges as late as the seventh century A.D.

## 2. Gauḍa as the name of a country

In modern times, the name Gauḍa is often used in Bengali literature to indicate the whole area inhabited by the Bengali speaking people. Originally however the Gauḍa country seems to have com-

4 Radhakamal Mookerjee. *The Changing Face of Bengal*, 1938, pp. 141-2.

prised, in a narrow sense, the present District of Murshidabad together with the southernmost areas of the Malda District of Bengal. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang who visited India in the first half of the seventh century A.D. speaks of Karṇasuvarṇa as the name of both the capital and the kingdom of king Śāsāṅka who killed king Rājyavardhana of Thanesar about 605 A.D. The king responsible for the death of Rājyavardhana is however described in the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa, who flourished at the court of Rājyavardhana's younger brother and successor Harṣa, as "the lord of Gauḍa." There is thus no doubt that Gauḍa was the usual name of Hiuen Tsang's kingdom of Karṇasuvarṇa apparently so named by the Chinese traveller after the name of the capital of that kingdom. According to the Chinese account, the celebrated Buddhist monastery, called the Rakta-mṛttikā-vihāra stood on the suburbs of the city of Karṇasuvarṇa and the country of that name was about 730 or 750 miles in circuit. As the monastery in question has been located at modern Rāṅgāmāṭi (literally, 'the red earth', the same as Sanskrit *Rakta-mṛttikā*) about eleven miles to the south of Murshidabad, the Karṇasuvarṇa or Gauḍa country has to be located about the present Murshidabad District, although the dominions of the Gauḍa king Śāsāṅka is known to have actually comprised wide regions of Eastern India.

The above location of Gauḍa in a narrow sense is remarkably supported by a late Purāṇic tradition. An interpolated section in some manuscripts of the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* locates Gauḍadeśa, inhabited by the deity Gauḍeśa or Gauḍeśī, in the land between the river Padmā and Vardhamāna. Thus the Gauḍa country is placed exactly about the Murshidabad District bounded in the north by the Padmā and in the south by the Vardhamāna or Burdwan District. The same authority regards Gauḍa as only one of the seven *deśas* forming the Puṇḍradeśa, viz. (1) Gauḍa, (2) Varendra (Malda-Rajshahi-Bogra region), (3) Nīviti, (4) Suhmadeśa (i.e. Rāḍha), (5) Jhārikhaṇḍa (Santal Parganas District) called *jāṅgala* apparently meaning 'jungly', (6) Varāhabhūmi (Barabhum in the Manbhum District), and (7) Vardhamāna (Burdwan) by the side of the Vindhya.<sup>5</sup> The localities forming the Gauḍa country according to the same tradition are: (1) Navadvīpa (in the Nadia District), (2) Śāntipura (in the Nadia

District), (3) Maulapattana (Mollāi in the Hooghly District) and (4) Kaṇṭakapattana (Katwa in the Burdwan District). The tradition would thus comprise in the Gauḍa country the present Murshidabad District together with parts of the Nadia, Burdwan and Hooghly Districts of West Bengal. It may be pointed out in this connection that the Puṇḍra country in this tradition comprised western and northern Bengal together with some eastern districts of Bihar. Niviti is said to have included Bardhankot in the Rangpur District. It is sometimes believed that the same name is found in the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*. But the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* passage *Puṇḍrāḥ syur = Varendrī Gauḍa-nīvṛti* seems to mean that the Puṇḍra country was the same as Varendrī lying in the realm (*nīvṛt*) of Gauḍa. The name Gauḍa is here used in a wider sense. It is however not improbable that the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* tradition is based on a misunderstanding of the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* passage.

A late-medieval work entitled *Saṭpañcāśad-deśa-vibhāga* which is incorporated in the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra* describes the Gauḍa country as lying between the country of Vaṅga and Bhuvaneśa, i.e. Bhuvan-eswar in the Puri District of Orissa. The same work describes Vaṅga as the land extending from the sea to the Brahmaputra. The sea is apparently the Bay of Bengal in the south of Vaṅga, while Brahmaputra placed on the northern boundary of Vaṅga seems to indicate that portion of the river which bifurcates from the Jumna. Thus the eastern half of Bengal has been called Vaṅga and its western half together with parts of Orissa has been called Gauḍa in the work in question. This broad division of the Bengali-speaking area into two halves, viz. Eastern Bengal called Vaṅga and Western Bengal called Gauḍa, is echoed by some Muslim historians who spoke of the country as Gaur-Bangāl, i.e. Gauḍa-Vaṅga. Vaṅgāla (Bangāl) was originally the name of the Bakharganj region of the Vaṅga country; but later the name came to be applied to the whole of Vaṅga or East Bengal and still later to the whole of the Bengali-speaking area. At present, Gauḍa, Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla are indiscriminately used to indicate the wide area of East India where the Bengali language is spoken. The major part of the country lies in West Bengal in the Indian Union and East Bengal in Pakistan; but parts of it belong to other states like Bihar and Assam.



We have seen that the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang describes Karnaśuvarṇa or Gauḍa as a small tract. It is to be noticed that he distinguishes the above country from Puṇyavardhana or Puṇḍravardhana in North Bengal, Samatāṭa in South-east Bengal and Tāmralipti in South-west Bengal. In Indian literature also Gauḍa is likewise separated from other tracts of Bengal. The Kauṭīliya *Arthaśāstra*, e.g., mentions the textile products of Vaṅga and Puṇḍra and the silver of Gauḍa. Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* mentions side by side Suhma, Samatāṭa, Lauhitya (the Brahmaputra valley), Gauḍaka (i.e. Gauḍa), Pauṇḍra (i.e. Puṇḍravardhana), Tāmraliptika (i.e. Tāmralipta) and Vardhamāna. There is reason to believe that the northern and south-eastern parts of Bengal were Aryanised considerably earlier than the south-western part of the country including Gauḍa. The mention of Gauḍa in the *Arthaśāstra*, which in its present form has to be assigned to about the third century A.D., points to the growing importance of the country in the economic life of Eastern India. In the fourth century A. D. the Gauḍa region became an integral part of the Gupta empire; but with the decline of the imperial power of the Guptas, the Gauḍas established an independent monarchy about the beginning of the sixth century. The importance of Gauḍa became established in the social and cultural life of India during the days of these independent monarchs of Gauḍa. We have already referred to King Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa, who flourished about the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. and ruled over extensive territories in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. An earlier king of Karnaśuvarṇa was Jayanāga. Three other kings of Gauḍa appear to have been Dharmāditya, Gopacandra and Samācāradeva who ruled about the first half of the sixth century A.D. Under the vigorous rule of these monarchs, Gauḍa appears to have extended its power over the neighbouring territories. One of the above kings of Gauḍa fought with the Maukhari king Īśānavarman about the middle of the sixth century.

The Maukhari court-poet, while referring to the struggle between the Maukharis and the Gauḍas, speaks of the latter as having been compelled to be *samudr-āsraya*, i.e. a people whose shelter is the sea, owing to their defeat at the hands of the Maukhari king. This shows that in the sixth century A.D. the Gauḍas had already become famous as a sea-faring people. That the Gauḍa country about this time produced many sea-faring merchants is suggested by the dis-

covery of an inscription of *Mahānāvika* (i.e. Captain) Buddhagupta of Raktamṛttikā (near the Gauḍa capital) in the Wellesley District of the Malay Peninsula.

It may be mentioned in this connection that, besides Gauḍa in Bengal, some other tracts in different parts of India were also known by this name. One such Gauḍa was the modern Gonda District of the Uttar Pradesh in which the celebrated city of Śrāvastī was situated. It is, however, possible to think that Gauḍa as the name of Gonda was a later modification of the older name of the area in imitation of the famous land of East India. The name of the Gond people of Central India was often Sanskritized as Gauḍa and the land inhabited by the Gonds came also to be known by this name. Kannāḍa *Gauḍa* or *Gavūḍa* meaning a village headman has nothing to do with Bengal. The same is the case with Oriya *Gauṛa* meaning a milkman.

### 3. *Gauḍa as the collective name of the eastern countries of India*

About a century after the establishment of the powerful kingdom of Gauḍa its name began to be used in a general sense to indicate the countries of Eastern India. In Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* (seventh century) one of the two principal styles of Sanskrit composition is described as Gauḍa or *prācya*, i.e. eastern.

Daṇḍin draws a distinction between the Gauḍa or eastern and the Vaidarbha or southern styles. Among the characteristics of the former is the love of long compounds not only in prose in which they were also used by the southerners, but also in poetry. The easterners also favoured alliteration and harsh sound effects, recondite etymologizing phraseology and strength often resulting in bombast and affectation. Jacobi believed that Sanskrit poetry in the east had developed the evil effects of old age before the art became current in the western and southern parts of India. But it should be noticed that in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, which is a few centuries earlier than the *Kāvyādarśa*, the qualities which Daṇḍin ascribes to the Vaidarbha style is assigned to the Kāvya style in general. Keith is no doubt right when he says, "This is a strong suggestion that at the time of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* there had not developed the characteristics of the Gauḍa style and that they emerged gradually with the development

of poetry at the courts of princes of Bengal.”<sup>6</sup> These “princes of Bengal” appear to have been no other than the kings of Gauḍa who flourished in the sixth century and the earlier part of the seventh, to whom reference has been made above. But the fact that the Gauḍa style came to be ascribed to the whole of Eastern India may suggest that poets at other East Indian courts were imitating those at the Gauḍa court. This led ultimately to the application of the name Gauḍa to East India generally.

Like the literary style of Eastern India named after Gauḍa, the East Indian alphabet was named after the same country. Bühler says, “Towards the end of the 11th century, the Nāgarī inscriptions of Eastern India shew such distinct traces of changes leading up to the modern Bengali writing and these changes become so numerous in the 12th century that it is possible to class their alphabets as Proto-Bengali. Only a few among the proto-Bengali letters are new local formations. The great majority occurs already in other older scripts, be it in exactly the same or in similar shape.”<sup>7</sup> Bendall and Bühler also noticed the influence of this script on the alphabet used in the Nepalese manuscripts of the period between the 12th and 15th centuries<sup>8</sup>. Now in coining the name Proto-Bengali for the script in question, Bühler seems to have ignored several factors. In the first place, “the eastern variety of the Nāgarī alphabet” found in “the Nāgarī inscriptions of Eastern India”, out of which the Proto-Bengali developed in the twelfth century, should better have been distinguished from the Nāgarī found in the inscriptions discovered in other parts of India by applying a more specific name to it. Secondly, when, even earlier than the eleventh century A.D.<sup>9</sup>, the same script was used in Bengal, Bihar, Assam and Orissa and when even now Bengal and Assam use practically the same alphabet while the Maithil and Oriya alphabets are nearly the same, the name Proto-Bengali can hardly be regarded

6 *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 60.

7 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXXIII, App., p. 58.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 60.

9 Ojha (*Prācīna-lipi-mālā*, p. 77) has traced letters like *e* and *kh* of the Bengali type in the inscriptions of the time of Nārāyaṇapālā (*circa* 854-908 A.D.), that is to say, in records belonging to the ninth and tenth centuries, Bühler himself does not deny such facts.

as quite appropriate, inspite of the fact that, along with its literature, Bengal's alphabet has come to occupy a more important position. Thirdly, as early as the first half of the eleventh century, the same East Indian script was named after Gauḍa. Alberuni, who wrote his work on India about 1030 A.D., speaks of the following alphabets: (1) Siddhamātrkā used in the Kashmir, Benares and Kanauj regions, (2) Nāgara used in Mālava, (3-5) Ardhanāgarī, Malwārī and Saindhava, used in Sindh, (6-9) Karnāṭa, Āndhrī, Drāviḍī and Lārī used respectively in the Kannāḍa, Andhra, Drāviḍa and Lāṭa countries, (10) Gauḍī used in Pūrvadeśa, i.e. the eastern country, and (11) Bhaiksukī which was the writing of the Buddha (i.e. the Buddhists) used in Udunpur (possibly Uddanāpura, i.e. modern Biharsharif in the Patna District) in Pūrvadeśa<sup>10</sup>. This shows that the East Indian script, called Proto-Bengali by Bühler, was named after Gauḍa at least by the beginning of the eleventh century. Many of the names found in the list of sixty-four alphabets in the *Lalitavistara* (translated into Chinese in 308 A.D.) are apparently imaginary and doubtful; but the separate mention of the Aṅga-lipi, Vaṅga-lipi, Magadha-lipi, Drāviḍa-lipi, Kanāri-lipi, Dakṣiṇa-lipi, Aparā-Gauḍ-ādi-lipi, etc., seems to suggest that the tendency towards the growth of special characteristics in the alphabets of southern and eastern India was noticed even in an earlier age.

What has been said above would show that the name Gauḍa was specially applied to the literary style and script of Eastern India and that Gauḍa in these cases indicates the East Indian countries generally. In this connection, attention may be invited to the language of the *caryā* songs assigned by linguists to the period between the tenth and twelfth centuries A.D. They no doubt offer the earliest stage of the East Indian dialect just emerged from the Apabhraṁśa stage. But there is a great controversy among scholars as regards the closeness of the language of the *caryās* with the different dialects now spoken in Eastern India such as Bengali, Assamese, Oriya, Maithili and Eastern Hindi. Linguists whose mother-tongue is any of the above languages have tried to prove the special affinity of the *caryā* dialect with their mother-tongue. Thus H. P. Sastri, S. K. Chatterji, P. C. Bagchi, S. K. Sen and other Bengali scholars believe that the *caryās* are written

10 Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Part I, p. 173.

in Bengali. K. L. Barua and other Assamese writers regard the language of the *caryās* as old Assamese which they call Kāmarūpī. J. K. Misra and others from Mithila take the *caryā* language to be old Maithil. There are also similar claims on behalf of Oriya and Eastern Hindi<sup>11</sup>. I am, however, inclined to believe that the characteristics of the *caryā* language may be easily traced in all the languages now spoken in Eastern India because it was the language of Eastern India generally. The authors of the songs may be attributed to particular areas and their compositions may exhibit in some cases certain regional peculiarities; but it will hardly be right for the matter of that to regard the language of the songs to be anyone of those that later developed in the areas in question especially in view of the fact that the modern languages of Eastern India have a good deal of common amongst them. It is very probable that in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. the difference among these languages was not as remarkable as in modern times and that the literary language of the *caryās* was easily understood in different parts of Eastern India. The proper name for the *caryā* language should therefore be Gauḍiya or East Indian and not old Bengali, Assamese, Maithili, Oriya or Eastern Hindi. We may then have a Gauḍa language besides a Gauḍa style of Sanskrit composition and a Gauḍa alphabet. East Indian linguists of particular areas may go on tracing affinities of their mother tongue with the *caryā* language; but they should better not regard it as the origin exclusively of their mother-tongue.<sup>12</sup>

#### 4. *Gauḍa as the name of Āryāvarta or Northern India.*

The South Indian Brāhmaṇas are usually divided into five sections, viz. Drāviḍa (Tamil), Karnāṭa, Gurjara, Mahārāṣṭra and Tailaṅga. These are collectively called the Pañca-Drāviḍa<sup>13</sup>. An inscription of 1425 A.D. speaks of four out of the five classes of Drāviḍa Brāhmaṇas as Kannaḍiga, Tamila, Teluṅga and Ilāla (i.e.

11 See S. K. Sen, *op. cit.*, pp. 45 ff.; K. L. Barua, *Early History of Kāmarūpa*, pp. 318 ff.; J. K. Misra, *History of Maithili Literature*, pp. x, etc.

12 The Gauḍī dialect (*vibhāṣā*) is recognised in Puruṣottama's *Prākṛtānuśāsana* (12th century). See my *Gram. Prak. Lang.*, p. 118.

13 See Apte, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. Drāviḍa. The *Śabdakalpādruma*, s.v., quotes a faulty passage from the *Skanda Purāṇa* in support of the list of the five classes of Drāviḍa Brāhmaṇas.

Lāṭa = Gurjara)<sup>14</sup>. Now these social groups of the Brāhmaṇas were developed out of the principal linguistic subdivisions of the people of South India. On the analogy of the above divisions, the North Indian Brāhmaṇas were also divided into five groups under the general name of Gauḍa. The *Śabdakalpadruma*, s. v. *gauḍa*, quotes the following verse from the *Skanda Purāṇa*: *Sārasvatāḥ Kānyakubjā Gauḍa-Maithilik-otkalāḥ, pañca-Gauḍā iti khyātā Vindhyasy = ottara-vāsinah*. The five classes of the Gauḍa or North Indian Brāhmaṇas were thus the Sārasvata (associated with the Sarasvatī valley in the Eastern Punjab), Kānyakubja, Gauḍa, Maithila and Utkala<sup>15</sup>. Although this seems to be an arbitrary and late classification, there is no doubt that the name Gauḍa has been applied in this case to North India generally.

The application of the name Gauḍa in the general sense of Āryāvarta or North India can also be traced elsewhere in literature. There is a tradition regarding King Bhoja (circa 1010-55 A.D.) of the Paramāra dynasty of Malwa recorded in the following verse: *pañcāśat pañca varṣāṇi sapta-māsa-dina-trayam, Bhoja-rājena bhoktavyaḥ sa-Gauḍo Dakṣiṇāpathaḥ*<sup>16</sup>. According to this tradition, Bhoja ruled over both Gauḍa and Dakṣiṇāpatha for a little over 55 years. The real implication of the verse has so long been misunderstood by scholars. There is no doubt that it speaks of Bhoja's lordship over Gauḍa in the sense of North India and over Dakṣiṇāpatha or South India, that is to

14 *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. I, pp. 82-84.

15 Wilson's *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms* gives an account of the Gauḍa Brāhmaṇas under the entries *Brāhmaṇ* and *Gauḍ*. Under *Gauḍ-Brāhmaṇ*, Wilson says, "The Brāhmaṇ of the Gauḍ tribe or caste; one of the five Gaurs; but located in the upper provinces throughout the Subah of Delhi to the hills. There are many sub-divisions of these Gauḍ-Brāhmaṇs of Hindusthan, who are apparently unknown in Bengal, as the Ādh-Gauḍ, Kaithal-Gauḍ, Gūjar-Gauḍ, Sidh-Gauḍ, etc., amounting in all to forty-two." He also speaks of the Gauḍ Kāyath said to be settled from Bengal in the upper provinces by Nāṣir-ud-din (son of Balban) in the thirteenth century, Gauḍ-Rājput numerous in the North-Western Province, Gauḍ-Tagā an important tribe of Brāhmaṇical descent in the north-west of India, and Gauḍ-Ṭhākur a tribe of Rajputs settled in the Farrukhabad District. The Gauḍ-Tagās claim that they were originally invited from Bengal by Rājā Janamejaya, the Kaurava King of Hastināpura, for the purpose of exterminating the Takṣakas or snakes.

16 *Bhoja-prabandha*, Calcutta ed., p. 3; cf. Ray, *DHNI*, p. 858.

say, Bhoja claimed to have ruled over the whole of India including both Northern and Southern India. This was merely the conventional way of saying that Bhoja was a *cakravartin*, i.e. an imperial ruler. The Indian *cakravartins* were conventionally represented as the ruler of the 'whole earth' which only meant the *cakravarti-kṣetra* bounded by the Himalayas and the sea. Sometimes, Āryāvarta or North India was conceived as an independent *cakravarti-kṣetra* for North Indian rulers and South India bounded by the three seas (the Indian Ocean, the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea) for the rulers of the Deccan<sup>17</sup>. In the verse quoted above, Bhoja is represented as the lord of both the *cakravarti-kṣetras* of the north and the south of India. Like similar claims of other monarchs, the claim on Bhoja's behalf does not mean that the Paramāra king actually ruled over any part of South India or over Gauḍa (in Bengal in the narrow sense of the term). Here Bhoja merely claims to have been a *cakravartin* which means nothing more than an imperial ruler of any part of India.

D. C. SIRCAR

<sup>17</sup> For the conventional *cakravarti-kṣetras*, see *JRASB.*, vol. V, 1939, pp. 497 ff. See also my paper "The *Cakravartin* and his *Kṣetra*," contributed recently to the *Lakṣman Sarup Memorial Volume*, Hoshiarpur.

## Concordance of the Fauna in the Rāmāyaṇa

“As long as mountain ranges stand  
And rivers flow upon the earth:  
So long will this Rāmāyaṇa  
Survive upon the lips of men”—(Rāmāyaṇa, i, 2, 40).

The *Rāmāyaṇa* has made such a name and fame that translations of it have been brought out in different languages of the East and the West, and thus abundantly fulfils the above prediction of the great Poet. ‘Probably no work of world literature, secular in its origin, has ever produced so profound an influence on the life and thought of the people as the *Rāmāyaṇa*.’ (Macdonell, *Ency. Rel. & Ethics*).

In this *Rāmāyaṇa* there are interesting questions that will suggest themselves to different scholars, according to their predilections and habits of investigation, for the solution of which, I hope, this concordance will prove to be a useful and effective tool.

In the absence of a critical and collated edition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, like that of the *Mahābhārata* of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, it is very difficult to prepare a scientific index of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Different readings are there in different recensions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. To have incorporated all the references in different recensions into the concordance would have swelled its bulk inordinately. So while preparing this concordance, I have followed the Gaudīya version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* only.\* The aim of this concordance is to collect systematically materials and datas scattered over the vols. of the epic to help the research scholars to reconstruct the history of human thoughts and institutions of the epic period.

In the following pages I have recorded the names of the animals referred to in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Notices of animals in the Vedic literatures, *Mahābhārata* (*Mbh*), and in the archaeological finds of identified animals in Harrappa and Mohenjodaro have been incorporated in the footnotes to facilitate and deepen the study of the different phases of Indian civilization.



Definitions of the animals by Kṣīrasvāmin and Sarvānanda, commentators of the *Amarakoṣa*, have also been noticed. For the transliteration and English equivalents of the words Monier-Williams has been followed.

I tender my thanks to all scholars who have helped me in the preparation of this paper in various ways and whom I could not specifically mention here in consideration of space.

1. AJA = He-Goat; Ram.

(AK. 152/217) अजति गच्छति व्यायामशीलत्वादजा

Ādi—xvii (4a)

Ayo—c (63a, 67a).

Sun—xviii (32b).

2. AJINA = Black antelope's skin.

(AK. 120/172) अज्यते क्षिप्यतेऽजिनम्

Ādi—i (35b), xv (4a), lxxvii (3b)

Ayo—ix (31a), xv (35b), xix (9a), xxviii (23a), xxx (14b),  
xxxiv (15b), lxxii (20a), xcvi (5a, 24b), civ (6a), cviii  
(24a), cx (2b, 3a).

Ara—vi (6a), xxv (11b, 21a), xxxix (5a), xl (38a), xlv (13b,  
33a), i (28b), liv (11a), lix (24a)

Yud—cx (49a)

3. ANADUR = Ox, Bull

(A.K. 149/213) अनोवहस्यनड्वान्

Ayo—lxxvi (3ob)

4. AÑJANA = Name of an elephant of the West and South West Region;

Ādi—vi (26a)

† Cf. (a) *Nāmalingānuśāsanam*: ed. by K. G. Oka, Poona, 1913.

(b) The same, ed. by Hara Dutt Sharma & N. G. Sardesai, Poona, 1941. (Indicated in the body of the Index by AK. followed by the page marks of (a) & (b) ).

‡ Cf. *Nāmalingānuśāsanam*: ed. Ganapati Shastri, Trivandrum, 1915-17. (Indicated as AS followed by page mark of the edition).

1 *Av.*, ix. 5, 1; *Rv.*, x. 16. 4; *Vāj. Sam.*, xxi. 9.

2 *Av.*, v. 21. 7; *Rv.*, i. 166. 10.

3 *Ait. Brā.*, i. 14; *Av.*, iii. 11. 5; *Rv.*, x. 59. 10; *Sat. Brā.*, ii. 1. 4. 17; Mohenjo (Mackay), DK—9238(1).

4 *Sān. Brā.*, iii. 7; *Sām. V Brā.*, 3, 1. 2; *Mbh.* (BORI), v. 77. 15a.

- Sun—iii (27b)  
 Utt—v (4b), xxi (38b), xxiii (15a)
5. AṆDAJA = Egg-born (i.e. bird, fish, snake, lizard)  
 Ādi—ii (15a).  
 Ayo—lxvi (2b).  
 Kis—xliv (87c).  
 Yud—lix (30a).  
 Utt—xxiii (21b), lxiv (43a)
6. ANTARIKṢA CARA = Passing through the atmosphere. e.g.  
 Bird.  
 Ādi—xiii (29b)
7. AMBUJA = Aquatic Animal  
 Utt—iv (18b)
8. AśVA = Horse.  
 (AK. 129/184) अश्वतेऽन्वामश्वः  
 Ādi—i (101a), iii (8b, 13b, 140b), iv (65a), v (13b), xi (18a),  
 xii (35b), xiii (2b, 28b, 31b, 34a, 35a, 40b), xiv (5c,  
 6c, 25b), xl (22b), xli (7b, 8a, 9ab, 13a, 14b, 16b, 18b,  
 28a, 29b), xlii (2b, 10ab), xliii (2a, 22a), xlvi (29a), lvi  
 (4b, 7a), lxxix (8b, 21a), lxxx (3b).  
 Ayo—xii (11a, 25b), xiii (23b), xx(39b), xxvi (17a), xxxv (40b),  
 xxxix (21b, 48a), xl (20b), xliv (11b), xlvii (22a, 23b,  
 24a), xlviii (20a), lxxii (23a, 25b), lxxiii (26b), lxxix  
 (11a), xc (5a), xci (14b), xciv (22a), c (56a, 59a, 62a),  
 cvi (9b, 12a), cviii (29a), cix (36a, 49b), cxi (45a), cxvi  
 (42b), cxvii (9a), cxxvii (4b).  
 Ara—ix (19b), xxviii (27b, 30b, 38a), xxxii (17a), xxxiii  
 (27b), xxxiv (33a), xxxv (2a), xl (22b), lv (16a), lvii (52a)  
 Kis—xxxiv (14a), xliv (39b)

5 *Ait. Āra.*, ii, 6, 1; *Mbb.* (Beng.), xii, 348, 13492.

6 *Tait. Brā.*, iii, 12, 7, 5; *Mbb.*, (Beng.), ix, 50, 2879.

8 *Av.*, v, 17, 15; *Ait. Brā.*, vi, 35; *Sat. Brā.*, v, 5, 4, 35; *Rv.*, iv, 32, 17;  
*Vāj. Sam.*, xxx, 13; *Bṛhad. Upa.*, vi, 2, 13; *Chānd. Upa.*, v, 1, 12; *Kāṭh. Sam.*,  
 xvii, 13; *Mait. Sam.*, i, 11, 6; Mohenjo (Mac.), DK—4732; Mohenjo (Mar-  
 shall), DM—293; *Nighantu.*, i, 14; *Sān. Āra.*, ix, 7; *Sān. Srauta Sūtra*, xvi,  
 4, 5; *Tait. Brā.*, iii, 4, 7, 1; *Mbb.*, *Aśvamedhika Parva*.

Sun—xi (10a), xii (25b), xviii (30b, 32b), xxvii (14a), xxxv (35b), xlii (27a, 38a), xliii (3b), lxxiv (11b, 48b), lxxviii (4b, 17b), lxxx (20b), lxxxii (18a), lxxxix (11b).

Yud—xviii (26a), xix (35a, 45b), xxx (6a), xxxk (10b), xxxvi (113a, 119a), xlv (18a, 20b), xlix (28b), l (11b, 27a), lii (18b), liv (26ab, 49a), lvi (1b), lix (41a), lxii (10b, 11a), lxvii (6b), lxviii (2b), lxx (47a, 48a), lxxi (1a), lxxiv (3a, 13a, 37a), lxxv (26a), lxxix (10b), lxxxii (18a, 19a), lxxxvii (9a, 15a, 25a), xciii (46b), cx (33a), cxii (15a), cxiii (8a), cxiv (10ab).

Utt—vii (5b, 12a, 29b, 30a, 31a), xxvi (47b), xxix (41a), xlii (35a), xlix (20a), lii (1c), lxx (2a), lxxi (18c), xci (2a, 3b), xciii (9a, 19b, 20a), xcvi (13a, 14b, 25a), (6b, 7b, 15b, 17b), xcix (10a), cvii (2a, 3b) cxiii (18b).

9 AŚVATARA = Mule.

Utt—xxxii (22b)

10. AHI = Serpent, snake.

(AK. 38/58) अहिराक्षः

Ayo—xlii (3b).

Sun—xxxviii (9b)

Yud—xxxvi (12b)

11. ĀŚIVIṢA = Venomous snake or serpent.

(AK. 38/58) आशीष्तालुगता दंष्ट्रा तया विद्धो न जोषति  
Ayo—VII (3a),

Ara—xxx (19a), xxxiii (31a), xxxiv (3b), xxxv (46b),  
xli (12b), lvi (27a).

Kis—v (23c), vii (23a), xv (27a), xviii (8b), xxii (21b).

Sun—ix (54b), xc (2a).

Yud—iii (39b, xix (24a), xxvii (15a) xxxk (37a), xxxvi (117a),  
l (7a, 18a), lvi (35b, 43a), lxviii (3b), lxix (5a), lxxi

9 *Ait. Brā.*, iii. 47; *Av.*, iv. 4. 8; *Jaim. Upa. Brā.*, i. 4. 4; *Sat. Brā.*, xii. 4.  
1. 10; *Tait. Sam.*, vii. 1. 1. 2. 3; *Mbh.*, (BORI), ii, 9, 9a.

10 *Av.*, i. 27; *Bṛhad. Upa.*, iv. 4. 10; Harappa (Vat's), 8157(II), 12358,  
II; *Jaim. Brā.*, i. 9; *Kāth. Upa.*, ii. 6; *Sat. Brā.*, xi. 2. 6. 13; *Rv.*, vii. 104. 7.

11 *Ait. Brā.*, vi, 1.

(32b), lxxv (17b), lxxvi (58a), lxxvii (25a), lxxx (51b),  
xci (17b), xcii (20b), xciii (21a).

Utt—xxxi (43c).

12. IHĀMRGA = Wolf.

(AK. 85/125) ईहा मृगस्येवास्य ईहामृगः, ईहा मृगयते वा

Sun—xx (11b).

Yud—lxxx (69a)

13. UPTAKṢAKA = Name of a Nāga

Utt—xxxi (23a)

14. URAGA = Snake

(AK. 38/58) उरसा गच्छत्युरगः

Ādi—xxxiv (9a), xxxviii (15a), xlv (18a), lvi (9a), lvii (13b),  
lxix (9b)

Ayo—xix (1b), xxviii (11b), xli (23a).

Arā—ix (32b), xxxiii (23b, 25b), xxxvi (29a), xxxvii (22a).  
lviii (8a), lxi (19a), lxxiii (3b).

Kis—v (31b), x (3a, 1a), (1), xxxiv (2a, 34a), xl (38a),  
xlv (17a, 54a, 56b, 67a), x'ix (5a), liv (2b)

Sun— (18b), iii (59a), iv (14a), v (2b), vii (18a), xxiii (20a,  
22b), xliii (19a), xlvi (7b), lv (5b, 9b, 16a), lix (12a),  
lxxi (4a), lxxv (32a), lxxx (2a) xcvi (30a)

Yud—xvi (32b, 80a), xxv (34b), xxvii (18a), xxxiv (3a),  
xxxvi (121b), xl (38b), lvi (48a), lix (36a), lxxi (16b, 30a),  
lxxx (66a), lxxx (36c), lxxxiv (24b), lxxxviii (5a),  
xciii (32a, 40b, 47b), ciii (23a)

Utt—x' (19a), xxiv (4a), xxvi (25b), xxvii (3b), xxxiii (17a),  
xxxvi (39a), xciii (3b)

15. URAGI = Female snake.

Ayo—ix (6b)

16. ULŪKA = Owl.

(AK. 86/127) उलति नेत्राभ्या दहत्युलूकः

12 *Mbh.*

13 *Mbh.* (BORI), ii, 9, 8a.

14 *Mbh.* (BORI), i, 4, 4b.

16 Harappa (Vats), I, 5893; *Rv.*, x, 165. 4; *Av.*, vi, 19. 2; *Tait. Sam.*, v, 5. 18. 1; *Mait. Sam.*, iii, 14. 4; *Vāj. Sam.*, xxiv, 23; *Mbh.*, (BORI), i, 60, 55a.

- Ayo—cxxv (2a).  
 Ara—xx (19b).  
 Utt—lxiv (2b, 3a, 5b, 12bc, 26b, 29a, 33b, 49b)
17. UṢṬRA = Camel.  
 (AK. 152/127) उष्यते दह्यते मरो—उष्ट्रः  
 Ayo—lxxii (25b), lxxxix (13c) c (55a, 63a, 75a),  
 Sun—xviii (30a) xxvii (18b), lxxviii (18a).  
 Yūd—xxv (15b), xxxvii (39a) xlv (20b), liv (25a).  
 Utt—vi (44b), xxxiii (37a), xxxvi (39a).
18. UKṢĀ = Bull or Ox.  
 (AK. 149/213) उक्षति उक्षा  
 Ayo—ix (45b).
19. RIKṢA = Bear.  
 (AK. 63&95/125) ऋक्षोति हिनस्ति ऋक्षः । अतएव भालुः  
 Ādi—xx (5b, 10b, 19a), xxvii (13b), lx (12b).  
 Ayo—xxv (33b), xxvii (11b), xxviii (11b), liv (30a), cii  
 (2a), cvi (3b).  
 Ara—liii (42b), lxiv (11b), lxxvi (17b), lxxvii (38b)  
 Kis—xxii (4b, 37a), xxiii (4b), xxvi (2b), xxviii (22a), xxv  
 (30a), xxxviii (34a, 52a), xxxix (28a), lviii (5a), lx (15a).  
 Sun—xlviii (10b) lxiv (5a), lxxiv (63b).  
 Yūd—iii (10ab, 29), vi (16a), vii (35b), xii (1b, 30a) xv (18a),  
 xvi (3b, 18b, 27b), xvii (21a), xviii (55b), xix (6a, 31a)  
 xxiv (34a), xxv (9b, 12a, 13b), xxx (10a, 14a, 20b),  
 xli (12c), xlii (76b), liii (17c, 18a, 32a), lxiii (4a, 6a),  
 lxv (20a), lxvi (5a, 11a), lxx (23a, 24a), lxxi (56a),  
 lxxii (20b), lxxix (12b), xciii (71a), c (24a), cvi (8b,  
 14b), cxii (24b).  
 Utt—xx (19a) xlii (53b), xliii (6a, 11a), xliv (1a), xlvi (15b),  
 xcvi (14b) cvi 5a, 11b), cxiii (36b, 38a, 40a, 47a),  
 cxiv (18a), cxv (20a, 26a).

17 Mohenjō (Marshall), SD—1386; *Ṛv.*, i. 138. 2; viii. 5. 37; *Av.*, xx. 127. 2; *Vāj. Saṃ.*, xiii. 50; *Sat. Brā.*, i. 2. 3. 9; *Āit. Brā.*, ii. 8; *Tait. Saṃ.*, v. 6. 21. 1; *Kāth. Saṃ.*, xv. 2; *Mbh.*

18 *Ṛv.*, i. 168. 2; *Av.*, iii. 11. 8; *Vāj. Saṃ.*, xxi. 20; *Mbh.*

19 *Ṛv.*, v. 56. 3; *Jaim. Brā.*, i. 184; *Mait. Saṃ.*, iii. 14. 17; *Vāj. Saṃ.*, xxiv. 36; *Mbh.*, (BORI), i. 60, 60b.

20. R̥IṢABHA = Bull.

(AK. 149/213) ऋषति रच्छति ऋषभः

Ādi—xiii (30b), xlix (3a).

Kis—xxi (38b), liv (6a)

Sun—xxvii (14), xxxiv (6b), lxxiv (24b).

Yud—xiii (2b), xx (3b), xcv (2b).

21. AIRĀVATA = A species of elephant. Name of Indra's elephant.

(AK. 10/15) इरावत्यध्वौ जात ऐरावतः

Ādi—vi (26b).

Ayo—xii (33b).

Ara—xxxvii (8b).

Sun—ii (29a), xii (31a), xv (16a), lxxiv (27b).

Yud—xxxviii (17b), xlix (5b).

Utt—xxxi (5a), xxxviii (95a, 96a).

22. AIRĀVAṆA = Name of Indra's elephant.

(AK. 10/15) इरावणोद्धव ऐरावणः

Ara—xx (25a), xlviii (7a).

(To be continued)

SIBADAS CHAUDHURI

20 Rv., vi. 16. 47; x, 91.14; Av., iii. 6.4; Tail. Sam. ii. 1. 3. 2; Vāj. Sam. xxi. 22; Pañca Brā., xiii. 5. 18; Mbh., (Beng.), ii, 21, 812.  
21 Av., viii. 10. 29; Pañca Brā., xxv. 15, 3; Mbh., (BORI), i, 3, 174.  
22 Mbh., (Beng.), i, 18, 1251.

## Expansion of the Rathor State in Marwar

In an article published in the *Proceedings* of the Patna session of the Indian History Congress I tried to reconstruct the story of the establishment of Rathor rule in Marwar and came to the following conclusions: (1) Siha died in 1273 A.D. without being able to establish a Rathor principality in Marwar. He ended his career as the loyal minister of the Brahmin ruler of Pali. (2) With the help of the political influence and, probably, wealth bequeathed by him his son Asthan occupied Khed and Idar and thus formed the nucleus of a small Rathor principality. (3) Asthan's son Dhuhad, for whom the Tirsingharin inscription<sup>1</sup> gives the date V. S. 1366, occupied 140 villages and thereby increased the size and importance of that principality.

The history of the immediate successors of Dhuhad as given in the chronicles contains some obscure points which cannot be cleared satisfactorily until the discovery of fresh epigraphic evidence. As regards chronology, for instance, the Bithu<sup>2</sup> and Tirsingharin inscriptions provide two landmarks for the earlier period, but no such unimpeachable evidence is available for the succeeding period. The chroniclers were interested merely in recording surviving traditions about heroic exploits and family feuds. They have not left for us any clear picture of the gradual expansion of the Rathor principality culminating in its emergence as a strong and consolidated State during the reign of Jodha.

That the chronicles, again, are not unanimous and preserve different traditions will be quite clear if we compare Tod's brief narrative<sup>3</sup> with the stories recorded by Pandit Ramkaran<sup>4</sup> and Pandit Reu<sup>5</sup>. As regards Dhuhad's son and successor, Raipal, we have three exploits attributed to him in different chronicles. He is said to have taken temporary possession of Mandor from the Parihars of that place. If this is true, the long struggle for the possession of the first

1 *Indian Antiquary*, 1911.

2 *Indian Antiquary*, 1911.

3 *Annals of Marwar*, Chapter II.

4 *Sir Asutosh Silver Jubilee Volumes* (Calcutta University), vol. III, *Orientalia*, Part 2.

5 *Glories of Marwar and the Glorious Rathors*.

important capital of the Rathors begins here. Raipal's second exploit, we are told, was the annexation of Mahowa (now known as Mallani) after a signal victory over the local Paramaras. Thirdly, he is said to have occupied 84 villages by killing a Bhatti chieftain named Pharara. There is no epigraphic evidence in support of any of these stories, but they are not improbable in themselves. In any case, the tradition that Raipal's 13 sons "rapidly spread" themselves "over these regions" seems to indicate that the Rathors were bringing large areas under their control. As many as ten branches of the Rathor clan traced their origin to Raipal's sons.

Raipal's eldest son and successor, Kanhapal, whom Tod calls Kanhul, seems to have continued the feud with the Bhattis and, for the time being at least, it proved disastrous for the Rathors. Tradition says that Kanhapal was killed in a battle with the Bhattis which took place on the bank of the river Kak. This tragic incident, however, had an important political consequence. That river became the boundary between the Rathor district of Khed and the Bhatti principality of Jaisalmer. Another important fact is also noted in some chronicles. The Bhattis were assisted by some unspecified Muslim allies, whom we may tentatively identify with the rulers or local chieftains of Sind. According to Pandit Reu, the Muslim chief concerned in this episode was the governor of Multan. It is possible that the Muslims of Sind did not like the rise of a strong and large State in Western Rajputana. They naturally tried to create obstacles for the Rathors by encouraging the jealousy of the Bhattis. Henceforth hostility with the Muslims of Sind became a regular feature of Rathor history.

The next Rathor ruler, Jalansi, was the second son of Kanhapal. He does not seem to have made any permanent conquest, although he is said to have led expeditions against the Sodha Rajputs of Amarkot (in Sind), the Muslim governor of Multan, the ruler of Thatta, the Solankis of Bhinmal and a chieftain named Haji Malik of the Sarai tribe whose stronghold was Palanpur. Apparently Jalansi's interest was concentrated on the west and he treated the Muslims as his principal enemy. Once again a Muslim-Bhatti alliance was formed and Jalansi was killed.

His eldest son and successor, Chhado, continued his father's policy and apparently wasted his resources in futile expeditions against his



western neighbours. He is said to have defeated the Sodha Rajputs of Amarkot and the Bhattis of Jaisalmer and realised tribute from them. Obviously this tribute meant the victor's spoils rather than the suzerain's legitimate dues. Neither the Sodha Rajputs nor the Bhattis acknowledged Rathor suzerainty. Chhado, we are told, was killed by the combined forces of the Sonagora and Devara Cauhans.

His eldest son and successor, Tido, is said to have "conquered the whole of Mahowa". If this statement of Pandit Ramkaran is correct, we must presume that the tradition attributing the conquest of that district to Raipal is incorrect, or that Mahowa had been lost to some enemy during the intervening period. Tido is also said to have defeated the Sonagara Cauhans of Bhinmal, taken possession of their town, obviously temporarily, and realised tribute from them as well as from the Bhattis and the Solankis. According to Tod, "Chhado and Tido are mentioned as very troublesome neighbours in the annals of the Bhattis of Jaisalmer, who were compelled to carry the war against them into 'the land of Khed'. Rao Tido took the rich district of Bhinmal from the Sonagaras, and made other additions to his territory from the Devaras and the Balechas". It is doubtful whether these "additions to his territory" were really permanent "additions". Tido was probably a raider rather than a conqueror. He died in defending Siwana, which was then held by the Cauhans, against Muslim invaders.

What happened after Tido's unexpected death is not clear. The chronicles agree in saying that he had three sons, but there is no agreement in regard to seniority or succession. According to Tod, Tido was succeeded by Salkha. Pandit Reu seems to hold the same view, for according to him Tido was the eighth Rathor ruler and Salkha was the ninth. But he says at the same time that Kanhada (who is not mentioned by Tod) "succeeded his father", was "soon deprived of his territory by the Mohamedan army returning from Siwana," but "re-captured it and ruled there until his death". If this statement is true, it is difficult to understand why Pandit Reu does not include Kanhada in the order of succession. He says that after Kanhada's temporary overthrow by the Muslims Salkha "seized a part of Mahowa and established his rule there". Tribhuvanasi is not mentioned by Tod, but Pandit Ramkaran describes him as Tido's immediate successor. According to Pandit Reu, however, he was

the successor of Kanhada, but according to Pandit Ramkaran, Kanhada was Tribhuvanasi's successor.

It is not possible to reconcile these conflicting traditions, but certain important points seem to emerge clearly. In the first place, the hostility with the Muslims in connection with the invasion of Siwana proved disastrous for the Rathors. The Muslims not only killed Tido and Salkha, but also occupied a large portion of Rathor territory. Secondly, Tido's successors did not offer a united front against the Muslims; on the other hand, personal rivalry developed into a family feud and weakened the Rathor clan. This is clear from the uncertainty about the exact position of Tido's three sons. A far more serious indication of growing family dissensions is the tradition, which we have no reason to disbelieve, that Tribhuvanasi was killed by Mallinath, Salkha's son, with the assistance of the Muslims of Jalor. It was indeed a bad day for the Rathors when one member of the ruling family invited Muslim assistance against another. Strangely enough, the degeneration of those dark days was idealised by later tradition. Pandit Ramkaran says: "He (Mallinath) is regarded as a saint and a temple dedicated to him is now situated at Talawada on the Luni."

There are clear indications that during this period the infant Rathor State was passing through a process of disintegration. Salkha ruled in Mahowa and was succeeded there, according to Pandit Ramkaran, by Mallinath. According to Pandit Reu, however, Mallinath ruled at Khed which he had occupied from Tribhuvanasi with the assistance of the Muslims. Pandit Ramkaran says that two other sons of Salkha, Jaitmal and Viram, ruled in Siwana and Khed respectively. Tod does not mention Mallinath and Jaitmal and treats Viram as the immediate successor of Salkha. Although we cannot be sure of details, it is easy to see that the Rathor State had been divided into three parts—Mahowa, Khed and Siwana—ruled by practically independent members of the royal family who were usually jealous of one another. The State had lost its integrity and the clan its unity.

From this dangerous position the Rathor State and clan were rescued by Viram's son Chunda. The circumstances leading to Viram's exile and Chunda's accession are obscure. But his victorious career began with the occupation of Mandor. According to Tod, "Collecting all the branches bearing the name of Rathor,

Chunda assaulted Mandor, slew the Parihar prince, and planted the banners of Kanauj on the ancient capital of Maru." Pandit Reu, on the other hand, says that he "received Mandor in dowry in 1395 A. D. from the Indas (a branch of the Parihars), who were not strong enough to hold it against the Mahomedans." Gradually he annexed Nagaur, Khatu, Didwana, Sandhar and Ajmer from the Muslims, Nadol from the Cauhans and Phalodhi from his own brother Jai Singh. The Sultanate of Delhi had lost its power and prestige, but the new-born Sultanate of Gujrat threatened the rising Rathor State. Although Chunda was not able to liquidate this new menace he put the Rathor State on firm foundations. It was no longer a State divided against itself. The period of Marwar's greatness had begun.

ANIL CHANDRA BANERJEE

## The Execution of Tārdī Beg Khān

The execution of Tārdī Beg Khān by Bairām Khān is one of the controversial points in the history of Akbar's reign. Modern writers on Akbar, Dr. V.A. Smith and Sir Wolsely Haig, justify the conduct of Bairām Khān on the ground of State necessity but the majority of the contemporary historians condemn it and state that Bairām was adversely criticised by people who regarded it as an arbitrary crime—a treacherous murder and it was one of the many causes which led to the unpopularity of the great minister. On 7 October, 1556 the victorious general of 'Ādil Shāh, Hīmū met Tārdī Beg Khān, the Mughul commandant of Delhi, defeated him and he fled to Sirhind where the main army under Akbar and Bairām lay encamped. Here Tārdī Beg Khān was put to death by order of Bairām Khān.

The Persian chronicles, which are the original authorities, give different versions of the Tārdī Beg affair. In order to arrive at an impartial conclusion it is necessary to examine the following questions: Was Tārdī Beg Khān really guilty? If he were guilty, was his guilt so serious as justified his execution by Bairām? Did Bairām Khān take this drastic step purely with a motive to do good to the State? Had Akbar any hand in it?

There are only two really contemporary authorities for the incident: Bāyazīd Bayāt, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn wa Akbar* and 'Ārif Qandahārī, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Akbarī*.<sup>1</sup> Bāyazīd was then in Mughul service at Kābul and heard the report of Bairām's execution of Tārdī Beg from an Afghān of the Khizr tribe.<sup>2</sup> 'Ārif Qandahārī was Steward to Bairām Khān and was therefore connected with the Mughul court in the very beginning of Akbar's reign. The other historians of Akbar's period, Abu'l Fazl, Badāūnī, Nizām-ud-Dīn and others joined Akbar's service much later. They were not therefore strictly speaking contemporary with the incident under discussion.

1 Only one MS. of Bāyazīd is extant: India Office, Ethe 223, on which the Asiatic Society edition is based and two MSS. of 'Ārif Qandahārī, both incomplete, one at the State Library, Rāmpūr and the other at the Cambridge University Library.

2 *Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn wa Akbar*, p. 218.

Now Bāyazīd and ʿĀrif Qandahārī give rather conflicting accounts. According to Bāyazīd, Tārdī Beg Khān was defeated in the battle and set out for the court and joined Akbar along with other nobles while the king was on the way to Delhi. As Bairām Khān had an old quarrel with Tārdī Beg, he made the defeat of the latter by Hīmū a pretext for executing him. He sent for him to his own house and himself left the room on pretence of ablution when by his order men appointed for this purpose put Tārdī Beg Khān to death.<sup>3</sup> In course of his conversation with Munʿim Khān Bāyazīd adds that it was commonly believed that the real cause of the execution was something else. During the reign of Humāyūn when Bairām Khān was merely Bairām Beg and his *mubrdār*, one day he wanted to sit on the same carpet with Tārdī Beg Khān, then governor of Etāwā, which the latter disallowed.<sup>4</sup>

ʿĀrif Qandahārī, on the other hand, states that the nobles who were at Delhi, as for example, Tārdī Beg Khān and Iskandar Khān the Uzbek, were perplexed at the ascendancy and victory of Hīmū, and as soon as they met in battle, Hīmū became victorious and the Muslims were defeated and they fled..... They joined Akbar at Sirhind... .. Tārdī Beg Khān was executed by the advice of Pīr Muhammad Shirwānī on account of his negligence in the battle of Delhi after the matter was investigated and discussed. Some men who had followed him in this matter were also put to the sword.<sup>5</sup>

Most of the historians, who lived and wrote during the reign of Akbar and whom we may regard as almost contemporary authorities, agree with Bāyazīd and state that Tārdī Beg Khān was unable to resist the attack of Hīmū and fled from the battle-field. According to Abu'l-Fazl, Tārdī Beg made due preparations for battle and he attributes the defeat of Tārdī Beg at Delhi to the treacherous conduct of Pīr Muhammad Shirwānī and some others. Nizām-ud-Dīn, Badāūnī and Tāhīr Muhammad, the author of the *Rauzat-ut-Tāhīrīn*, also say that Tārdī Beg Khān fled from the battle-field because he could not resist the attack of Hīmū. None of these historians gives

3 *Bāyazīd*, p. 212.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 220-21.

5 *Tārīkh-i-Akbārī*, pp. 72-73.

the least hint that there was wilful negligence on the part of Tārdī Beg. The *Tārīkh-i-Alfī* states that Tārdī Beg Khān gave battle in haste as he thought that delay would weaken the Mughul cause but he was unable to resist and fled from the field of battle because of the superior elephantry of the enemy and the violence of their attack. It adds that Bairām Khān was displeased with Tārdī Beg because his cowardice was responsible for the defeat of the Mughul troops at Delhi and because of his hypocrisy in word and deed.<sup>6</sup> Mīrzā Alā-ud-Daula Qazwīnī, the author of the *Nafāis-ul-Maāsir* and brother of Akbar's famous tutor, 'Abdul-Latīf Qazwīnī, agrees with 'Arif Qandahārī and states that Bairām Khān put Tārdī Beg Khān to death by the advice of Pīr Muhammad Shirwānī on account of his negligence in the battle of Delhi.<sup>7</sup>

So 'Arif Qandahārī and Mīrzā 'Alā-ud-Daula are the two contemporary historians who regard Tārdī Beg guilty of negligence. Most of the important historical works, which were composed during the reign of Jahāngīr and are of some importance for the history of Akbar's period, confirm the view that Tārdī Beg could not resist Hīmū's attack, was defeated in battle and therefore obliged to take to flight. Mu'tamid Khān, the author of the *Iqbāl-nāma* and Shaikh Ilāhdād Faizī Sirhindī follow Abu-'l-Fazl in this matter while Nūr-ul-Haqq, the author of the *Zubdat-ut-Tawārikh*, follows Nizām-ud-Dīn. Mu'tamid Khān adds that he heard from trustworthy people that Pīr Muhammad Shirwānī was to a large extent responsible for Tārdī Beg Khān's defeat at Delhi<sup>8</sup>. Even 'Abdul-Bāqī Nahāwandī, who enjoyed the patronage of Bairām's famous son 'Abdur-Rahīm and is his biographer, relieves Tārdī Beg of the charge of wilful negligence or desertion. According to the emperor Jahāngīr, who refers to the incident in his *Memoirs*, Tārdī Beg Khān made preparations for battle, drew up his force and was defeated after considerable efforts and strife and then proceeded to the royal camp. Firishta, who was a southerner and writes from independent point of view, also states that when Tārdī Beg Khān heard of the

6 While describing the events of the year 964 A.H./1556-57 A.D. it says that Tārdī Beg had fought a useless battle with Himū and had been defeated; Indian Office MS. f. 432b and British Museum MS. f. 592b.

7 *Nafāis-ul-Maāsir*, f. 44b.

8 *Iqbāl-nāma*, f. 165a.

report of Hīmū's advance, he promptly informed the *amīrs* in all directions to come to his aid and when many of them arrived, gave battle but was defeated and driven from the battle-field. Firishta of course condemns Tārdī Beg Khān for hastiness in giving battle without waiting for the arrival of Khān Zamān and for leaving Delhi to the enemy without fighting a second battle after combining his troops with Khān Zamān's force or asking for reinforcement from the king. In short Firishta accuses Tārdī Beg of a mistake in policy but not of wilful desertion or negligence. According to the *Makhzan-i-Afghāna*, Tārdī Beg and Iskandar Khān the Uzbek marched against Hīmū but were defeated because of the superior force of the enemy and they escaped to the emperor Akbar.

Two chroniclers, 'Abdullah, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī* and Ahmad Yādgār, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Shāhī*, hold Tārdī Beg definitely guilty. 'Abdullah regards that Tārdī Beg's cowardice was responsible for his defeat. He gave battle and in the first charge dispersed the army of Hīmū. He then sent some horsemen to procure information about the situation of his enemy and when they reported that Hīmū was standing nearby unbeaten with his force, he became highly anxious and, in spite of the advice of some *amīrs* to maintain his position, he escaped to Sirhind. Ahmad Yādgār goes a step further and definitely charges Tārdī Beg Khān with wilful negligence and treacherous desertion. In the discussion among the assembled chiefs about the situation caused by Hīmū's advance, Tārdī Beg from the very beginning advised retreat from Delhi on the royal camp. The other *amīrs* did not agree with him, pointing that the enemy had not yet arrived, and decided to offer battle, upon which Tārdī Beg separated his army. Tārdī Beg, however, came out with his men and took up his post on the right in the battle-field. The Mughuls were at first able to rout the Afghāns who were on the point of flying. At this Hīmū sent his ablest lieutenant Ilāhdād Khān to attack the enemy, and when a stubborn fight was going on between Ilāhdād Khān and the Mughuls, Tārdī Beg Khān did not leave his position and remained coldly neutral. Though Ilāhdād was defeated and wounded, Hīmū made a violent attack on the Mughuls and put them to flight<sup>9</sup>.

From a perusal of the original authorities we find that no historian except Ahmad Yādgar lays the charge of treachery and wilful desertion at the door of Tārḍī Beg Khān, no work except the *Tārīkh-i-Alfī* and the *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī* accuses him of cowardice, no other authority except 'Ārif Qandahārī and Mīrzā 'Alā-ud-Daula charges him with negligence and none except Firishta condemns the commandant of Delhi for a mistaken policy. On the other hand, the majority of the chroniclers, contemporary and nearly contemporary, state that Tārḍī Beg found himself unequal to the task of resisting Hīmū's attack and was forced to retreat to Sirhind. It will not be unreasonable if we dismiss the solitary opinion of Ahmad Yādgar because he is a later authority unconnected with the Mughul court and had no good opportunities of having an intimate knowledge of the incident occurring some sixty years ago in the Mughul camp, and also because he is not corroborated by any other authority. As to the charge of cowardice by Ja'far Beg Āsaf Khān in the *Tārīkh-i-Alfī* and by 'Abdullah, we have the evidence of Abu'l-Fazl, the emperor Jahāngīr and Firishta who definitely say that Tārḍī Beg made the best efforts to fight Hīmū while from the accounts of other writers including even 'Abdul-Bāqī, it seems Tārḍī Beg duly gave battle. As to Firishta's contention, it is difficult to come to any definite conclusion. Whether Tārḍī Beg could afford to wait for the arrival of 'Alī Qulī Khān from Sambhal and whether he had sufficient troops to fight against Hīmū, we cannot say with certainty. The statement of the emperor Jahāngīr that there was a large force at Tārḍī Beg's disposal, is not corroborated by any other authority. In fact Tārḍī Beg's force must have been far inferior in number to Hīmū's army which was larger than the combined Mughul force on the field of Pānīpat. We do not know the strength of Khān Zamān's force: besides from Firishta's own statement we learn that Khān Zamān having heard of Tārḍī Beg's defeat, avoided Delhi and proceeded towards Sirhind. We cannot say whether it was possible in that situation when the army had been dispersed and its morale shaken, to wait for further reinforcement from the king and make another bid for Delhi. In any way there is no evidence from his conduct during the battle and after it of any negligence of which 'Ārif Qandahārī and Mīrzā 'Alā-ud-Daula accuse him. His flight to Sirhind was therefore caused by either an error of judgment or nervousness due to



defeat and the consequent dispersal of his army. 'Ārif Qandahārī is a really contemporary authority for the incident and his account is of utmost importance. But it should be noted that 'Ārif was a devoted servant of Bairām Khān whom he accompanied to Gujarāt even after his downfall and it was quite natural that he would justify his master's conduct. On the other hand Bāyazīd was also a contemporary writer and had ample opportunities of knowing details about Tārdī Beg Khān's death. He was then at Kābul in the service of Mun'im Khān who was informed of Tārdī Beg's execution by Akbar's *farmān* and Bairām's letter and discussed the incident with him. It is difficult to accept the version of 'Ārif Qandahārī, supported by Mīrzā 'Alā-ud-Daula who though a contemporary author was not contemporary with the incident, against the view of Bāyazīd which is supported by the majority of the chroniclers. It will not therefore be unreasonable to conclude that Tārdī Beg fought against Hīmū, was defeated, and fled to Sirhind and his flight from Delhi to Sirhind was due to either nervousness or indiscretion and was not caused by any negligence on his part. It seems also probable, as the majority of the historians state, that he did not show cowardice in the battle-field.

Neither indiscretion nor nervousness was a guilt sufficient to justify execution. Execution would be a severe and cruel step even if Tārdī Beg were guilty of mere cowardice in the battle-field, specially when he had presented himself before the king with all humility. Of course Tārdī Beg Khān had on occasions proved faithless during the reign of Humāyūn but there is no evidence of his disloyalty after he had rejoined the king--a charge which the *Tārīkh-i-Alfī* makes. There is enough force in the contention of Firishta and modern writers like Dr. V. A. Smith and Sir Wolseley Haig who follow in his train that the execution of Tārdī Beg was a severe necessity. Circumstances were difficult at the time, the Afghāns were still supreme, the Mughul power with a lawless nobility and an ill-cemented army was not yet established and the least cowardice or error on the part of a prominent noble would set dangerous example. The execution of Tārdī Beg calmed all disaffection in the army and among the nobles and led to the absolute authority of Bairām Khān which was badly needed if the Mughul kingdom were to be re-established in Hindūstān. In short the execution of Tārdī Beg was part of a general plan to

destroy the force of aristocratic disintegration which was hostile to the State.

But this leads us to a discussion of the third point: did Bairām Khān execute Tārḍī Beg with a view to doing good to the king or the State? Several good authorities, Bāyazīd, Abu'l-Fazl, Mu'tamid Khān, the emperor Jahāngīr and even 'Abdul-Bāqī Nahāwandī reply in the negative and attribute Bairām Khān's action to personal motive, while Badāūnī states that Bairām was ill-disposed towards Tārḍī Beg Khān. That there was personal bitterness between the two appears also from the *Rauzat-ut-Tābirīn* where in a discussion at Sirhind among the nobles regarding the Hīmū menace we find Bairām Khān remarking sarcastically that the cause of Hīmū's courage was the *heroism* of Tārḍī Beg. Bāyazīd says that Bairām who had old quarrel with Tārḍī Beg, made his life the forfeit for his military failure. According to Abu'l-Fazl, Mu'tamid Khān and 'Abdul-Bāqī, though both Bairām and Tārḍī Beg called one another *tūqān* (brother), in fact they were rivals. Tārḍī Beg Khān was a prominent *amīr* and regarded himself as the leader of the army and was after overthrowing the Khān Khānān. They were not only hostile to each other due to their conflicting political ambition but also on religious grounds; Bairām Khān was a Shīah and Tārḍī Beg Khān a Sunnī. Bairām Khān took advantage of Tārḍī Beg's defeat at Delhi to do away with his rival and had him executed. Jahāngīr also says that as Bairām Khān disliked Tārḍī Beg, he made his defeat an excuse to put him to death. Bairām Khān did not take such a drastic step against Iskandar Khān the Uzbek whose conduct he censured when Iskandar abandoned Sirhind to the advancing Afghān army in 1555. Neither did he take Iskandar to task for having left Āgra for Delhi on account of the advance of Hīmū.

As to Akbar's part in the affair, the majority of the authorities state that Akbar had no hand in and was completely ignorant of it and Bairām Khān did all this while Akbar was away on hunting and without his knowledge and permission. Ahmad Yādgar, however, says that Akbar rebuked Tārḍī Beg and other nobles at Sirhind for their defeat at Delhi and inflicted capital punishment on Tārḍī Beg for his desertion in the battle-field. 'Abdullah also states that at Sirhind Akbar asked Tārḍī Beg explanation for his defeat which he

failed to give and the king had him executed with the advice of Bairām Khān. From the *Ma'dan-i-Akbbār-i-Ahmadī* it appears that Bairām had previously acquainted Akbar with the matter. According to Badāūnī, the Khān Khānān impressed on the mind of Akbar that Tārdī Beg's treachery was the cause of the Mughul defeat at Delhi and brought the evidence of Khān Zamān and others in support of this charge and succeeded in obtaining a sort of permission (apparent or reluctant : رخصت کړنه ) for his execution. We have it from the *Tārīkh-i-Alfī* that 'Alī Qulī Khān reproached Tārdī Beg Khān at Sirhind for his defeat at Delhi. In the *Tārīkh-i-Alfī* we find, however, Bairām Khān offering detailed explanation to Akbar for the execution of Tārdī Beg without his permission and he was able to reconcile the king through the efforts of Māham Anaga and some other confidants of the king and make him accept his apology.<sup>10</sup> We need not take seriously into consideration the statements of Ahmad Yādgār and 'Abdullah for reasons discussed above. But as to Badāūnī, the manner in which Tārdī Beg was executed as described by Badāūnī himself, raises grave suspicion that there was something wrong in this matter. In view of the evidence of the great majority of historians as well as of the summary procedure, hastiness and feigned friendship which Bairām showed, in short the manner in which the execution was effected, we are led to the conclusion that Akbar was ignorant of it. Bairām did all during Akbar's absence and without his knowledge and permission because he apprehended that Akbar would not agree to the execution of Tārdī Beg as he had just refused to permit him to execute Shah Abu'l-Ma'ālī. One day while Akbar was away from the camp on hunting, Bairām Khān himself went to the house of Tārdī Beg Khān and by invitation brought him to his own place. At the time of evening prayer Bairām rose up in the midst of conversation on the pretext of performing the ablutions and his men, appointed for the purpose, put Tārdī Beg to death. When Akbar returned from hunting, Bairām sent Pīr Muhammad Shirwānī to him, representing that he was ashamed of having executed Tārdī Beg without his permission and he did this as he apprehended that the king out of innate kindness would have hesitated to act but the welfare of the

<sup>10</sup> *Tārīkh-i-Alfī*, British Muselm MS., ff. 591b-592a, India Office MS., f. 432a.

State demanded his execution as an warning to others. Akbar, who was a mere boy, had no other way but to approve of the action of Bairām Khān whose services were then indispensable

We may therefore conclude that the guilt of Tārḍī Beg Khān was either indiscretion or nervousness and Bairām made an excuse of his rival's defeat by an overwhelmingly superior army and executed him apparently on the ground of State necessity but really to serve his own end without the knowledge and permission of Akbar whose reluctant approval he afterwards exacted.

SUKUMAR RAY

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## The Problem of Nacre-Silver (Śukti-Rūpya) in Indian Philosophy

The problem of illusory knowledge has been widely discussed in Indian philosophical systems with meticulous logical skill and each system, though not differing with others in its attitude to a piece of false knowledge in recognising it as out-and-out illusory, has tried to explain this psychological error, abnormal yet so very common, in its own subtle way; and, in order to explain it, each system has generally recognised two cases of this species of knowledge as examples for its explanations. The two cases which stand out prominently in Indian philosophical systems are those of mistaking a piece of nacre<sup>1</sup> as a piece of silver (*śukti-rūpya-bhrama*) and mistaking a rope as a snake (*rajjusarpa-bhrama*). It is a common error in knowledge when we in dazzling sunlight mistake a piece of nacre from a distance as a piece of silver, or in dim twilight mistake a rope stretched along the path as a snake. In both cases it is unmistakably seen that the person so mistaking is clearly and truly affected by his knowledge which he does not regard as false for the time being—so much so, that in the former case he runs for the piece of mistaken silver, and in the latter he jumps back in fear from the mistaken snake.

What is this false knowledge due to and how it originates are the questions discussed in each system of Indian philosophy, and in explaining such questions, each has taken a widely different stand from the other. The problem of illusory knowledge which is known in Indian philosophical systems as 'Khyātivāda' has taken different nomenclature at the hands of each system in accordance with the particular position it has taken up. The Nyaiyāyikas have termed such knowledge as 'anyathākhyāti' and their theory is known as 'anyathākhyātivāda', that of the Mīmāṃsakas as 'akhyātivāda', that of the Buddhists as 'ātmakhyātivāda', that of the Viśiṣṭādvaitists as 'satkhyātivāda', and that of the Advaitists as 'anirvacanīyakhyātivāda'. These different theories will be discussed below and it will be shown that 'anirvacanīyakhyāti', propounded by the School of Advaita Vedānta is the most

1 Nacre—"a beautiful iridescent substance which lines the interior of some shells, and is most perfect in the mother-of-pearl." (*Webster's Dictionary*).

logical explanation of false knowledge, and every other explanation can be reduced to what Advaita Vedānta has said.

According to the Prābhākara School of Mīmāṃsā, in illusory knowledge such as that of nacre-silver, *the knowledge in itself is not false*, for there are, according to this view, two distinct pieces of knowledge—one of the nature of perception (the knowledge of the object lying before) and the other of the nature of memory (that of silver)—both of which are valid in themselves. Our error consists not in the knowledge itself, but in our false action (*vyavahāra*) and expression (*vyapadeśa*) born out of a psychological non-recognition of difference of the two distinct pieces of knowledge. The two ideas, according to this view, lose their difference, though not actually becoming identical. This is called ‘non-recognition of difference’ (*bhedāgraha*) which is responsible primarily for such erroneous action and expression. This theory of the Prābhākaras reveals one very important point. They hold a very unorthodox view in the matter of error. Knowledge, in their view, *in itself*, is not erroneous; the error arises only in our action and expression. Moreover, there is not one knowledge which we ordinarily designate erroneous in this case; there are two distinct cognitions, one of the nature of inference and the other of the nature of perception. The inference is with regard to the piece of silver and the perception is with regard to the piece of nacre. The error in knowledge arises in our non-recognition of difference in the two species of knowledge which is due to the fact that in both the species we make some concessions, because in the case of inference of silver, we do not recognise it ‘as perceived before’ but only ‘as recognised’, and in the case of nacre, we do not recognise it ‘as such’ but only ‘as the thing existing before me’. The fact of the similitude of brightness acts as the incentive (*saṁskāra*) to our recognition of silver on the thing lying before me. Hence the Prābhākara School of Mīmāṃsā concludes that all knowledge in itself is true.

This conclusion of the Prābhākaras is born out of certain charges made against those schools which recognise knowledge to be false in itself. These charges may be briefly summed up as follows:—

If all knowledge is not regarded as true, then

- (i) knowledge of a thing in a particular form cannot with propriety assume another form;

- (ii) the objects of knowledge varying from one case to another, knowledge also becomes dubitable ;
- (iii) a non-existent connection between the two things either becomes feasible ; if that be so, the 'asatkhyāti' doctrine of the Mādhyamikas becomes acceptable ; or it does not become feasible, because of absence of any cause for the revelation of a non-existent thing ;
- (iv) connection with a thing existing at a different place becomes impossible (as is supposed in the 'anyathākhyāti' theory of the Naiyāyikas or in the 'ātmakhyāti' theory of the Yogācāra, Sautrāntika and the Vaibhāṣika schools of the Buddhists) ;
- (v) imperfections, drawbacks or handicaps (*doṣas*) being invoked to explain error become useless, inasmuch as they only retard the origination of knowledge and do not produce new effects as errors (as is supposed by the 'bhramavādins') ;
- (vi) the charge of uselessness of the error negating knowledge ('bādhakajñāna' as 'this is no silver') becomes feeble, inasmuch as truly speaking, false action and expression ('vyavahāra' and 'vyapadeśa') are regarded as being negated.

This theory of the Prābhākaras arose out of their charges against those schools which propound falsity of knowledge ('bhramavādins') and their first charge is against the Buddhists who establish their theory which is known as 'ātmakhyātivāda'. It is interesting to note that the four schools of Buddhism, though not diverging on moral and religious grounds, had wide chasms in their metaphysical attitudes. Accordingly their epistemological theories did also diverge from one another. The *Sautrāntika School* which acknowledges external objects, in so far as they can be inferred from the diversity of knowledge, the *Vaibhāṣikas* who uphold perceptibility of external objects, and the *Yogācāra School* which recognises nothing apart from, and external to, knowledge—these three schools have generally been in agreement in their theory of the explanation of error in knowledge, known as the 'ātmakhyātivāda'. The *Mādhyamika School* of the



Buddhists, however, in consonance with its metaphysical doctrine of absolute void ('śūnya') advocated a different theory known as 'asatkhyātivāda'. Now the advocates of 'ātmakhyātivāda' are all subjectivists in so far as they all recognise nothing outside of knowledge. The object of knowledge is only a form of knowledge which alone is true. Knowledge and its objects are inseparably connected and invariably present ; hence there is, so to say, identity in them. Among them, however, the *Yogācāras* are out-and-out subjectivists, but the other two schools—those of the *Sautrāntikas* and the *Vaibhāṣikas*—also recognise some amount of external reality in the objects, though these two have also joined hands with the *Yogācāra* school in their theory of error in knowledge, viz., 'ātmakhyātivāda'. We can point out here that the *Yogācāra* school recognises the error of silver on something which is a non-entity (viz., the nacre), but, nevertheless, which is wrongly supposed to be present due to external ignorance ('niradhiṣṭhānabhramavāda'). The other two schools, however, recognise the externality of the substratum of superimposition of erroneous knowledge (viz., the nacre) ; this is, therefore, 'sādhiṣṭhānabhramavāda'. All these, however, are unanimous in their explanations of erroneous knowledge. They hold that the piece of silver falsely cognised on a piece of nacre is existent only in knowledge and the error arises only when we falsely suppose it to be present outside of knowledge. Their argument starts with their recognition of the fact that whatever form is perceived is, without another perception to the contrary, true, real ; but its negation is possible only when such another stronger perception to the contrary arises. Hence they hold that when we negate the knowledge of silver on a piece of nacre, what we have to do is to admit only the negation of external manifestation of silver which is internal and not of the piece of silver itself. It is better and wiser, they hold, to acknowledge such a standpoint, for in doing so, we are logically precise being at the same time concise. By recognising the negation of the piece of silver in itself, we admit the negation of its external manifestation as well, but from this standpoint we have only to acknowledge the latter by which our purpose is served. This negation of externality, of outward manifestation, of silver, therefore, makes it internally present, i.e., present in knowledge. This is the position of the 'ātmakhyātivāda' of the Buddhists. The *Prābhākara* school of *Mīmāṃsā* which criticised this

theory, however, raised two horns of a dilemma against this theory. They held that if it was true that the piece of silver is internally present in knowledge, then the 'ātmakhyātivādin' had to explain it with reference to either perception or inference. If he contended that it was an object of perception, then how could he explain the externality in the perception of silver (as 'this is silver')? Was it not meet and proper to recognise the perception of silver as internal, and then was it not logical to expect the form of perception as 'I am silver' or 'Mine is silver'? (The Buddhists recognise the stream of momentary pieces of knowledge which they designate 'ālaya-vijñāna' as the subject). If, on the other hand, he contended that from the negating perception ('this is no silver') we could infer the internality of silver, then also he could not satisfactorily explain why we should have inferred like that. If the piece of silver was externally negated, there was no guarantee to regard it as internally present. Why not, apart from regarding it as internally present, regard the externally negated object of erroneous cognition as another piece of true silver? Is it not logical to regard the object of such false knowledge as far from being present internally in knowledge? On the other hand, in the place of what we regard as externally negated, and internally present, silver, there may exist a different thing appearing as silver. The Prābhākaras impelled the Buddhists on the horns of the dilemma to which no satisfactory reply could be given, and hence the former formulated their theory of error known as 'akhyātivāda' explained above.

It has been indicated above that the Mādhyamika school of Buddhism recognises nothing except absolute void ('śūnya' or 'mahā-śūnya') as its last word of metaphysical speculation. The Mādhyamikas hold that knowledge which is recognised as true in three other Buddhist schools and which is regarded as giving form and colour to the external object is also false, a non-entity. The object of knowledge being false, knowledge also ceases to be true. Therefore the subject, the object, the knowledge are all non-existent; absolute void prevails in the last analysis. The Mādhyamikas, therefore, hold that when everything is false, a non-entity, the error in cognising a piece of nacre as a piece of silver is with regard to the non-existent silver upon the non-existent nacre; hence a false cognition of absolutely non-existent objects arises. This theory has come to be known as

‘asatkhyātivāda’ where the object falsely cognised (silver) and the substratum on which it is falsely cognised (nacre) are both absolutely non-existent. This doctrine of the Mādhyamikas, however, is not altogether cut off from the standpoint of the other three schools of Buddhism explained above, for here also, except from the metaphysical attitude of regarding everything a non-entity, we see that a species of ‘ātmakhyātivāda’ is not wanting ; for the (non-existent) silver of the nature of (non-existent) knowledge is falsely cognised on the (non-existent) nacre.

The ‘asatkhyātivāda’ has also been propounded by the Mādhyas school of Vedānta, though of a different nature from that of the Mādhyamikas. The Mādhyas hold, like the Mādhyamikas, that the object falsely cognised is absolutely non-existent, but unlike the latter regard the object on which it is falsely cognised (viz., nacre) as existent. So both are ‘asatkhyātivādins’ in so far as the object falsely cognised is regarded as absolutely non-existent (‘asat’) ; but, according to the Mādhyamikas it can be said—“asadadhiṣṭhānam asad bhāsate” (where both the object falsely cognised and that on which something is falsely cognised are absolutely non-existent), while according to the Mādhyas, it can be said—“sadadhiṣṭhānam asad bhāsate” (where the former is a non-entity but the latter not).

The Naiyāyikas criticise the theory of the Prābhākaras and show that their explanations tend towards what they try to establish, viz., ‘anyathākhyātivāda’. The Nyāyāyikas contend that no action and expression can ever be possible out of non-recognition of difference which is a negative fact ; the positive fact of knowledge gives rise to them. It is also not a sound argument by which the Prābhākaras try to assert that such action and expression are due to not any negative non-recognition of difference between two pieces of knowledge, but are born out of two positive pieces of knowledge, the difference of which is not recognised, and hence the similitude of which with true knowledge becomes possible ; for, firstly, similitude between false knowledge and true knowledge cannot account for same action and expression. If a man is told of the similitude between a cow and another similar animal, he will not certainly run after the latter when he desires to have the former. Secondly, this similitude will either remain known or unknown to the person mistaking. If in the case

of false knowledge we contend that the two pieces of knowledge have similitude with true knowledge, then we cannot say that there is non-recognition of difference between the two pieces of knowledge in erroneous cognition, for we have clearly admitted two pieces of knowledge. Hence if we say that the similitude with true knowledge is known to the person, we cannot account for non-recognition of difference between the two pieces of knowledge which is regarded as accounting for erroneous cognition. If we, on the other hand, say that such similitude remains unknown to the person, we cannot explain why we do not run after a pitcher or any other thing except silver, for then there is equal similitude between the two pieces of knowledge in false cognition and the knowledge of pitcher or any other thing, as between the former and that of true silver. The Nyaiyāikas, therefore, hold that merely the recognition of the word silver on the piece of nacre cannot account for the person so mistaking running after it, but there is a positive knowledge of silver which accounts for such action<sup>2</sup>.

This positive knowledge, they hold, is the knowledge of silver *present at a distant place* being transferred on the piece of nacre. The procedure of the Nyaiyāikas is something like this. The person having such false knowledge *transfers the quality* of silver upon the piece of nacre, because of *non-recognition of difference*, and then *remembering the usefulness* of silver *infers* it (usefulness) in the case of the piece of nacre so mistaken, and finally *runs* after it. That the knowledge of silver has its false ground on the piece of nacre can be inferred from the fact that the former, as a matter of fact, deludes

2 “ग्रहणनिवन्धनौ हि चेतनस्य व्यवहार-व्यपदेशौ कथमग्रहणमालाङ्गवेताम् ? .....  
.....अथ समीचीनज्ञानसारूप्यमनयोर्गृह्यमाणं वा व्यवहारप्रवृत्तिहेतुरगृह्यमाणं  
वा ? सत्तामात्रेण गृह्यमाणोऽपि समीचीनज्ञानसारूप्यमनयोऽरिदमिति’ ‘रजतमिति’ च ज्ञानयो-  
रिति ग्रहणम्, अथवा ‘तयोरेव स्वरूपतो विषयतश्च मिथो भेदाग्रह’ इति ग्रहणम् । तत्र न  
तावत् समीचीनज्ञानसदृशीति ज्ञानं समीचीनज्ञानवद् व्यवहारप्रवर्तकम् । न हि ‘गोसदृशो  
गवय’ इति ज्ञानं गवार्थिनं गवये प्रवर्तयति । ‘अनयोरेव भेदाग्रह’ इति तु ज्ञानं परादृतम् ।  
न हि भेदाग्रहे अनयोरिति भवति, अनयोरिति ग्रहे भेदाग्रहणमिति च भवति । तस्मात्  
सत्तामात्रेण भेदाग्रहोऽगृहीत एव व्यवहारहेतुरिति वक्तव्यम्” । (*Bhāmata*—*Adhyāsa-*  
*bhāṣya* ; *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*—*Sri Vani Vilas Sastra Series No. 2 p. 58*).

the person towards the latter.<sup>3</sup> The piece of nacre which is the ground of error in this case is not, according to the Nyaiyāyikas, recognised really *as such*, but only on the similitude of brightness with a piece of silver. This error, however, is due to another great factor, viz., imperfections and drawbacks or handicaps ('doṣas') in the person. Such 'doṣas' do not only retard true knowledge from originating, but have also the power to produce erroneous cognition. The familiar example given is that of cane-seeds burnt in a conflagration producing entirely different effects, viz., plantain-stalks.<sup>4</sup> It cannot also be contended by the Prābhākaras that it is not necessarily implied that for positive action, a positive knowledge of the piece of nacre as a piece of silver is required, for a negative knowledge of not being non-silver may be sufficient for the purpose; for, the Nyaiyāyikas hold that when the piece of silver is not recognised as silver, one should have desisted from running after it. Hence non-recognition of difference between the two species of knowledge in false cognition is common to both these psychological propensities of going in for, and staying out from, the silver, for which the person should have remained neutral. But such neutral behaviour is not noticed in such cases; hence the Nyaiyāyikas conclude that in mistaking a piece of nacre as a piece of silver, there are not two pieces of knowledge as the Prābhākaras hold, but there is a third variety of knowledge where the piece of nacre is cognised as being qualified by the knowledge of the piece of silver. This erroneous knowledge arises, according to the Nyaiyāyikas, due to an abnormal contact of the sense-organ (viz., eye) with the object (viz., silver which is absent in the present case, but present elsewhere). This abnormal psychosis is what is known as 'jñānalakṣaṇa-sannikarṣa' or connection of the sense-organ with an

3 'तथाहि—भेदाप्रहादिदंकारास्पदे रजतत्वं समारोप्य, तज्जातीयस्योपकारहेतुभावमनुचिन्त्य, तज्जातीयतयेदंकारास्पदे रजते तमनुमाय, तदर्थी प्रवर्तते इत्यानुपूर्व्यं सिद्धम् ।  
.....तत् सिद्धमेतत्—विवादाध्यासितं रजतादिज्ञानं पुरोवर्तिवस्तुविषयम्,  
रजताद्यर्थिनस्तत्र नियमेन प्रवर्तकत्वात्, यद्यदर्थिनं यत्र नियमेन प्रवर्तयति, तज्ज्ञानं तद्विषयम्,  
यथोभयसिद्धसमीचीनरजतज्ञानम्, तथा चेदं तस्मात्तथेति ।' (*Ibid*, pp. 62-63).

4 "दृष्टञ्च दुष्टानां कारणानामौत्सर्गिककार्यप्रतिबन्धेन कार्यान्तरोपजननसामर्थ्यम्,  
यथा वायुमिदग्धानां वेन्नवौजानां कदलीकाण्डजनकत्वम् ।" (*Ibid*. p. 63).

object due to the pre-occupied knowledge of that object in the mind, though the object be not really present.

The Nyaiyāyikas challenge the validity of the argument put forward by the Prābhākaras that all knowledge in itself is true, for they hold that if there be certain imperfections or drawbacks or handicaps in the person, erroneous cognition, and never true knowledge, is bound to be the result. Diseases in the sense-organs or handicaps of too much of distance or proximity of the object do certainly originate false knowledge; they do not only retard the origination of true knowledge as the Prābhākaras hold. The example of burnt-out cane-seeds and plantain-stalks is put forward by the Nyaiyāyikas in this respect.

We may here consider briefly two more important theories prevalent in Indian Philosophy regarding error in cognition before passing on to the theory propounded by the Advaita Vedāntists and the criticism levelled by it against all the theories discussed above. The Viśiṣṭādvaita school of Vedānta propounded by Rāmānuja does not recognise error in knowledge, for all knowledge, in itself, they say, is valid. The Prābhākara school of Mīmāṃsā does not also recognise error in knowledge, but Rāmānuja's theory is something distinct, and it can be said, something unique, in the explanation of what he calls *apparently* false knowledge. He holds that every object of the universe is constituted by not one or two elements, but by all the five elements ('pañcabhūtas'). He has expounded his famous theory with a very cogent logic based on the theory of 'pañcīkaraṇa' described in the Upaniṣads. He argues that we call a thing by a particular name in respect of its having a major proportion of the elements of that kind, but it is equally true that other elements in small proportions are also present. The piece of nacre has a preponderating proportion of the element of nacre, but it has also a fragmentary proportion of the element of silver. Solar rays have an overwhelming proportion of the element of heat, but also a very small proportion of the element of water. In mistaking one thing for the other, as in mistaking a piece of nacre for a piece of silver, or in mistaking solar rays on a desert for water (mirage), we perceive the elements of small proportions through personal defects or impersonal handicaps and designate the object as such. In doing so we do not perceive anything absolutely

non-existent ('asatkhyātivāda') or spatially non-existent (Buddhists, Nyaiyāyikas etc.) but a really existent object which becomes prominent where it ought to be subdued. Erroneous cognition and true cognition have, according to Rāmānuja, therefore, a difference in degree, not in kind ; for, this cognition of silver on nacre is relatively untrue in comparison with the cognition of true silver ; in the former case, our utility of silver is not served by the nacre which we run after, but in the latter it is.

Some of the Sāṅkhya teachers, the chief protagonist among whom is Vijñānabhikṣu, propounds yet another theory of false knowledge. Vijñānabhikṣu in his well-known work, *Sāṅkhya-pravacana-bhāṣya*, propounds his theory which is known as 'sadasatkhyātivāda'. He holds that the silver, which we erroneously cognise, is both existent and non-existent ('sadasat') ; it is existent as such but non-existent as being perceived on nacre. The knowledge of silver as such is as much perfectly valid as the knowledge of nacre, in itself, is. Error in knowledge consists in perceiving through 'doṣas' an object at a place where it ought not to have been seen ; the spatially non-existent silver ought not to have been cognised on nacre, but then it is. It cannot also be said to be absolutely non-existent, for, as has been already said, it is both existent and non-existent ('sadasat'). This theory of Vijñānabhikṣu is known as 'sadasatkhyātivāda'.

The Advaita Vedāntists propound a unique theory of erroneous cognition which is known as 'anirvacanīyakhyātivāda'. They refute with greatest logical skill the theories of other schools and arrive at a conclusion which seems to be irrefutable. They hold that the silver which we wrongly perceive on a piece of nacre is neither existent ('sat'-existent in knowledge as the Buddhists hold, existent somewhere else as the Nyaiyāyikas hold, existent as being perceived previously and recalled now as the Prābhākaras hold, or existent at the very same place at the same time as Rāmānuja advocates), nor it is non-existent ('asat' as the Mādhvamikas and the Mādhvas propound), nor both existent and non-existent ('sadasat' as Vijñānabhikṣu advocates) ; it is held to be different from all these alternatives and neither existent nor non-existent ('sadasadvilakṣaṇa' or 'anirvacanīya').

The Advaita Vedāntists regard everything as super-imposed ('adhyasta') on Consciousness or Knowledge which alone is held true.

This metaphysic of theirs is responsible for their holding the view that everything is revealed by Consciousness on which it is held to be super-imposed. The modifications ('vṛttis') of the mind ('antaḥ-karaṇa') are so many sluice-gates for the revelation of Consciousness. Now in order to explain false knowledge, Advaita Vedāntists, in consonance with this metaphysical stand, hold that in falsely perceiving silver on nacre, the person having certain imperfections in his sense-organs (e.g., diseases in the eye) has a modification ('vṛtti') in his mind when his eye is in contact with the thing in front of him. That mental modification is with regard to the thing lying in front and having brightness as its constituent. ('īdamākārā cākacakyākārā ca antaḥkaraṇavṛttiḥ'). The Consciousness on which the thing is super-imposed is supposed to be reflected on this modification and what happens then is the unique explanation offered by this school. They hold that as Consciousness is the only real source of revelation of a thing, the Consciousness of the knower ('pramāṭṛcāitanya') revealed through the 'vṛtti' gets identified with the Consciousness on which the thing is super-imposed ('viśayacāitanya') and then the ignorance covering up the nacre creates the silver. Everything of the universe, according to the Advaita Vedāntists, is the creation of ignorance in the sense that it is super-imposed on Consciousness and has no independent existence. This piece of silver is also the creation of ignorance as it has no separate existence apart from the Consciousness (of nacre) on which it is falsely cognised. How does the silver come into perception when it is not really present there? The Advaita Vedāntists reply that as it is the creation of ignorance, it is raked up through the remembrance of silver due to the similitude of brightness on account of the imperfections ('doṣas') of the seer. The silver is, therefore, according to them, the external creation of the same value of internal ignorance, because it is as untrue as ignorance itself. This is known as 'pariṇāma' of ignorance into the form of silver<sup>5</sup>.

5 'तथा हि—काचकामलादिदोषदूषितलोचनस्य पुरोवर्तिद्रव्यसंयोगादिदमाकारा चाक-  
चक्रयाकारा च काचिदन्तःकरणवृत्तिरुदेति । तस्याश्च वृत्तो इदमवच्छिन्नं चैतन्यं प्रतिबिम्बते ।  
तत्र पूर्वोक्तरीत्या वृत्तेर्निगमनेन इदमवच्छिन्नचैतन्यं वृत्त्यवच्छिन्नचैतन्यं चाभिन्नम् । ततश्च  
प्रमातृचैतन्याभिन्नविषयचैतन्यनिष्ठा शुक्तित्वप्रकारिकाऽविद्या चाकचक्रयादिसादृश्यसन्दर्शनसमु-



If we go a little deeper we can say that not the Consciousness of the individual knower, but the All-pervading Consciousness ('sākṣicaitya-nya') is the real background of this perception of the object of ignorance<sup>6</sup>. This false knowledge is a single knowledge according to this view, for the true and the false objects of perception have become identical in erroneous cognition and hence their knowledge is also one<sup>7</sup>. This is the theory of the Advaita Vedāntists who hold that a false ('mithyā') piece of silver is created out of ignorance and this is neither existent (for it does not really exist) nor non-existent (for it is perceived); this is what they call 'anirvacanīyaraजारotpatih'. This theory is therefore known as 'anirvacanīyakhyaativāda'.

As against the Prābhākara theory that absence of revelation ('akhyāti') of difference is responsible for error, the Advaita Vedāntists urge the following alternatives and show that no one is correct. They argue that 'akhyāti' should mean either of the following:—

Absence of 'khyāti' ('khyātyabhāva'), difference from 'khyāti' ('khyātyanya'), antagonism to 'khyāti' ('khyāativiruddha').

Now the first alternative is not correct, for, if absence of 'khyāti' of all sorts can give rise to error, then in deep slumber ('susupti') errors will multiply; and if absence of 'khyāti' of some sorts is regarded as such, then it cannot account for error without too much of demand. If the second alternative is accepted, then it can mean either the cause of urging one desiring a thing to a different place or knowledge of many objects, the difference of which is lost. The first suggestion fails, for, when an indifferent spectator is not urged towards a wrong place, or even if he is, an instantaneous negating knowledge arises, it cannot hold good. The second suggestion, too, has not very much force; for, there is a clear cognition of difference in the two distinctly expressed objects—'this' (the substratum of illusion) and 'silver'

द्वोधितरजतसंस्कारसघोचीना काचादिदोषसमवहिता रजतरूपार्थाकारेण परिणमते ।”  
(*Vedāntaparibhāṣā*—Cal. U. Ed. pp. 110-111).

6 “अविद्यैव बाह्यदोषनिमित्तकारणापेक्षया रजताकारेण साक्षिचैतन्यस्य रजतावच्छेदज्ञानाभासाकारेण च परिणममाना स्वकार्येण सह साक्षिचैतन्यस्य विषयभावं प्रतिपद्यते ।”  
(*Vivaraṇa*, Calcutta Sanskrit Series, No. 1. pp. 197-198)

7 “विषयावच्छिन्नं हि फलमवभासते; न ज्ञानावच्छिन्नम् । विषयश्च सत्यमिथ्या-वस्तुनोरन्योन्यात्मकतयैकनामापन्नः, तेनैकविषयावच्छिन्नफलैकत्वोपाधौ सत्यमिथ्याज्ञानद्वयमप्येकमित्युपचर्यत इति भावः ।” (*Ibid.* pp. 198-199).

(the object of illusion). If it is argued that the knowledge of mutual difference and twoness ('dvaitva') is real cognition of difference and here there is no such cognition inasmuch as oneness of the objects of knowledge prevails, then it can be urged that here also is such a cognition in that of the difference of 'this' and 'silver'. Otherwise the form of knowledge should have been either 'this' or 'silver'. When the difference is cognised of two objects distinctly expressed, non-recognition of their difference cannot exist ; on the other hand, if the objects are not cognised, the question cannot arise at all. If the third alternative be taken into consideration, then it can be urged that the negating knowledge being in conflict with the former false knowledge, becomes false itself. Hence the Advaita Vedāntists argue that absence of revelation of difference ('akhyāti') is not responsible for error.<sup>8</sup> The Prābhākara doctrine of the obliteration of some aspects of recollection ('smṛtipramoṣa') cannot also be supported, for the 'smaraṇābhimāna' (the quality of being recollected) which the Prābhākaras try to establish and which in their opinion is obliterated remains inexplicable. It is not included in pure recollection ('smṛti'), for when 'smṛti' remains, 'smaraṇābhimāna' cannot be obliterated. Nor can the *vice versa* be correct, for 'smaraṇābhimāna' being gone, 'smṛti' cannot remain. Nor is it different from 'smṛti', for then a totally different thing being gone, 'smṛti' will not be debarred from originating its effects. Nor can a totally distinct thing as 'smaraṇābhimāna' be conceived. If it be argued by the Prābhākaras that previous experiences of space, time, etc., along with the per-

8 "केयमख्यातिरिति ? न ताव । ख्यायभावमात्रम् ; अनभ्युपगमात्, अतिप्रसङ्गाच्च । अन्यार्थिनोऽन्यत्र प्रवृत्तिहेतुर्ज्ञानमिति चेत्, यत् तर्हि न प्रवृत्ति, भ्रूयति बाधश्च, तत् कथं भ्रान्तिः ? अथाविविक्तानेकपदार्थज्ञानम्, तर्हि 'इदमिति' 'रजतमिति' चापुनरुक्तशब्दद्वयस्मृतिहेतुतया विविक्तावभासनात् तस्य सामान्यविशेषयोरविवेकभ्रमः सम्भवति ; विविक्ताकारद्वयावभासनात् । इतरेतराभावभेद-द्वित्वादिसंख्याविशिष्टज्ञानं विवेक इति चेत्, 'गामानय दण्डे-ने'ति गोदण्डयोस्तत्कारकत्वयोश्चाविवेकभ्रमः स्यात् । तत्राप्यानुषङ्गिकभेदादिज्ञानमस्तीति चेत्, 'इदमिति' 'रजतमिति' चेहाप्यपुनरुक्तशब्दानुषङ्गाकारद्वयावभास द्वित्वाद्यभासो विद्यते एव ; अन्यथा सामान्याकारात् विशेषाकारस्य विवेकानवभासात् इदमित्येव स्यात्, रजतमित्येव वा स्यात्, न 'इदं रजतमिति' । किञ्च प्रतीयमानाकारयोर्नाविवेकः अपुनरुक्तप्रतिभासात् । अप्रतीयमानाकाराविवेको न भ्रमः ; अतिप्रसङ्गात् । तस्मान्नाविवेका भ्रमः ।" (*Ibid.* pp. 166-167).

ception of the object are 'smaraṇābhimāna', and these are obliterated afterwards, then it can be said that even in true cognition, as remembrance of a previously cognised person ('pratyabhijñā') as 'This is he (whom I saw)', previously experienced space, time etc., are also perceived and not obliterated. Here also there is non-recognition of difference between 'this' and 'he'. So there ceases to be any clear-cut distinction between the two kinds of cognition, in both of which 'smaraṇābhimāna' in the nature of previously cognised space, time etc., is present. Hence the Advaita Vedāntists conclude that in recollection ('smṛti') where an object is revealed, no other knowledge of any other thing exists, except that the particular object remains revealed as it was perceived. The knowledge of other things (as space, time etc.) is due to inference born out of the previous perception of the object of remembrance, for, when the object was perceived previously, those things were also perceived and they are inferred in the recollection of the former afterwards. The knowledge of other things being mixed up afterwards with the pure recollection of the object accounts for false cognition of the object along with those other things; truly speaking, in recollection ('smṛti') the pure object is recalled. This is the reply given by the Advaita Vedāntists to the Prābhākaras in respect of the nature of 'smṛti'."

What the Advaita Vedāntists want to suggest is that the contention of the Prābhākaras that knowledge should be either 'pramāṇa'

9 "किञ्च—स्मृतिर्वा गवयादिस्मृतिवद्गृह्यमानात् स्मृतिः, किमिति न विविञ्चयात् ? स्मरणाभिमानप्रमोषादिति चेत् तत्राह—'कोऽयं स्मरणाभिमान इति ?' त तावत् स्मृतिरेव तस्याः प्रमोषे ज्ञानस्यैवाभावप्रसङ्गात्, स्मृतेरन्यथेत्, कथमन्यस्य प्रमोषे परिपूर्णमुत्पन्नं ज्ञानं स्वकार्यमर्थविवेकं न कुर्यात् ? न चान्यः स्मरणाभिमानो दृश्यत इति भावः । ननु—पूर्वानुभव तद्देश-कालानामन्यतमेन 'स' इत्याकारेण वा स्मर्यमानस्य सम्भेदः स्मरणाभिमान इति, नेत्याह—'न तावज्ज्ञानानुविद्धतया ग्रहणम्' इति । 'सोऽयमि'ति प्रत्यभिज्ञाभ्रमे हि सर्वेषामेवैषां 'स' इत्याकारस्य पूर्वानुभवदेशकालानां च स्मरामोतिपर्यन्तानां सम्भेदावगमेऽपि गृह्यमाणेनाविवेकदर्शनादिति भावः । न च पूर्वानुभवसम्भेदः स्मर्यमाणे सम्भवतीत्याह—'न ह्यतिवृत्तस्येति' । अर्थस्मृतिसंस्कारस्य जनकं यत् पूर्वविज्ञानम तत् स्वयं ग्राह्यविशेषणतया स्वेनैव न विषयीक्रियते ; अर्थमात्रविषयत्वात् पूर्वज्ञानस्य । न हि पूर्वज्ञानेनाविषयीकृते विषये तत्संस्कारजन्या स्मृतिः समुत्पद्यते । तस्मादर्थमात्रविषयज्ञानजन्या स्मृतिरर्थमात्रमेव विषयीकरोति, न पूर्वज्ञानेनाविषयीकृतं ज्ञानमपि । अन्यथा नीलज्ञानात् पीतेऽपि स्मृतिः स्यात् ।" (*Vivaraṇa*, Calcutta Sanskrit Series. No. 1. pp. 179-180).

or 'pramā' (validly born out of the right means such as sense-organs) or 'smṛti' (valid but born out of memory) is not true, for there is a third category of knowledge which is not valid, but false ('bhrānti-jñāna').<sup>10</sup> This false knowledge cannot be explained, as the Prābhākaras do, by the admission of memory and non-recognition of some of its aspects when we see something different (silver) on something (nacre), but it is a pure and simple illusion, distinct from both.<sup>11</sup>

The contention of the Prābhākaras that all knowledge is about really existent things, there is no such thing as false knowledge, is seriously challenged by the Advaita Vedāntists who hold that when we erroneously cognise water (mirage) in place of solar rays on a desert, we do not surely have a valid, self-consistent knowledge. If we knew these rays as being non-water, our knowledge would have been valid. The knowledge of water seen in rivers etc., cannot also be consistently said to arise here, for then our knowledge should be about 'water in the river' and not of 'water on the desert'. If it be urged that we forget the source of the water and attribute it to the desert, then the objection should be that we cannot still have the knowledge of 'water on the desert' except that of 'only water'. These arguments will show that there is in these cases a clear indication of false cognition of something else in place of something.<sup>12</sup> Citsukha tersely criticises the view of the Prābhākaras in a cryptic couplet.<sup>13</sup>

10 "अतो न प्रमाणस्मृतिद्वैराश्यमेव ज्ञानस्य, किन्तु तृतीयं भ्रान्तिज्ञानमपि ।" (*Ibid.* p. 118)

11 "अतो नान्यसम्प्रयोगेऽन्यविषयज्ञानं स्मृतिः किन्त्वध्यासः ।" (*Pañcapādikā*. Calcutta Sanskrit Series, No. 1. p. 188).

12 "तत् किं मरीचिषु तोयनिर्भासप्रत्ययस्तत्त्वगोचरः ? तथा च समीचीन इति न भ्रान्तो नापि बाध्येत । अद्धा न बाध्येत यदि मरीचीनतोयात्मतत्त्वान् अतोयात्मना गृह्येयात् । तोयात्मना तु गृह्यन् कथमभ्रान्तः कथं वाऽबाध्यः ?.....न चारोपितं रूपं वस्त्वन्तरं, तद्धि मरीचयो वा भवेत् गङ्गादिगतं तोयं वा । पूर्वस्मिन् कल्पे मरीचय इति प्रत्ययः स्यात्, न तोयमिति । उत्तरस्मिंस्तु गङ्गायां तोयमिति स्यान्न पुनरिहेति । देशभेदास्मरणे तोयमिति स्यान्न पुनरिहेति । न चेदमत्यन्तमसन्निरस्तसमस्तस्वरूपमलोकमेवास्त्विति साम्प्रतम् । तस्यानुभवगोचरत्वानुपपत्तेरित्युक्तमधस्तात् । तस्मात् सत्, नापि सदसत्, परस्परविरोधादिति अनिर्वाच्यमेवारोपणाय मरीचिषु तोयमास्थेयम्" । (*Bhāmātī*. Brahmasūtrabhāṣya. Sri Vani Vilas Sastra Series, No. 2. pp. 46-48).

13 "स्वोकारे विभ्रमाणां स्यात् स्वीयसिद्धान्तबाधना ।

अनभ्युपगमे तेषामाश्रयासिद्धिरुद्धता ॥"

(*Tattvapradīpikā*, Nīrṇaya Sagara Edn., p. 63).

The Advaita Vedāntists criticise the Nyāya theory of 'anyathākhyāti' by pointing out that the Nyaiyāyikas cannot explain what is exactly meant by 'anyathākhyāti'. The Advaita Vedāntists say that it may mean either knowledge ('jñāna') of a different form, of a different object, or revelation ('sphuraṇa') of an object as something different, or knowledge of an object transformed otherwise. All these alternatives cannot stand the test of logic. The first alternative is invalid, for, knowledge of a particular object should have that object as its ground and no other object. Here the object of knowledge is silver, but the substratum is nacre. If it be argued by the Nyaiyāyikas that knowledge of a particular object can appear as different if it has the capability of being used differently, the reply should be that when the knowledge of a tiger or a serpent urges a frightened man to bring in a cudgel, the former knowledge is not surely capable of having the cudgel as its ground. Hence the conclusion is that the knowledge of an object has its ground in the same object, and in no other. If the second alternative mentioned above is accepted, it must be admitted that the Nyaiyāyikas who recognise absolute difference between objects cannot account for connection between them, and hence that turns out to be a void. The third alternative also is invalid, inasmuch as transformation of the nacre into the silver is wholly impossible except without the recognition of an ignorance about the nacre as the Advaita Vedāntists do.<sup>14</sup>

The 'jñānalakṣaṇasannikarṣa' admitted by the Nyaiyāyikas to explain the cognition of silver is repudiated by the Advaita Vedān-

14 “केयमन्यथाख्यातिः ? अन्याकारं ज्ञानमन्यालम्बनं वा ? वस्तुनो वस्त्वन्तरात्मनावभासो वा ? अन्यथा परिणते वस्तुनि ज्ञानं वा ? न तावत् प्रथमः कल्पः इत्याह—‘नन्वेवं सति वैपरीत्यमिति’। कुतो वैपरीत्यमित्यत आह—‘नैतत् सन्निदनुसारिणामिति’। सर्वत्र यदाकारं संवेदनम्, तदालम्बनमिति नियमे रजताकारसंवेदनविरुद्धं शुक्तिकालम्बनत्वमित्यर्थः। ननु—न संविदाकारतालम्बनता सर्वत्र, किन्तु संवित्प्रयुक्तव्यवहारविषयतेति चोदयति—‘ननु शुक्तेः स्वरूपेणापीति’। इदं तावदयुक्तम् : न हि व्याघ्रसर्पादिज्ञानादण्डादिष्वादीयमानेषु व्याघ्रादिज्ञानस्य दण्डाद्यालम्बनम्।.....तस्मात् तदाकार एवालम्बनमिति, नान्याकारं ज्ञानमन्यालम्बनमन्यथाख्यातिरिति वहिरेवोपसंहर्तव्यम्। अस्तु तर्हि वस्तुनो वस्त्वन्तरात्मनाऽवभास इति तत्राह—‘अथ तथारूपावभासनमिति’। न तावदत्यन्तभेदवादिनां संसर्गः परमार्थः, ततश्चानिर्वचनीयानभ्युपगमाच्छून्य एव संसर्गः प्रकाशेत।” (*Vivaraṇa*. Calcutta Sanskrit Series, No. 1. pp. 189-190),

tists by pointing out that if it be accepted, the whole range of inferential knowledge falls to the ground ; for, in inference (as in inferring fire by seeing smoke on a hill) we can say that the knowledge of fire is not inferentially born, but born out of such abnormal contact as 'jñānalakṣaṇasannikarṣa'. The Nyaiyāyikas are the greatest protagonists of inference and they will lay their axe at the root of their own tree.

Against the Buddhist theory of 'ātmakhyāti', the Advaita Vedāntists argue that the silver which is supposed to exist in knowledge should either be born on nacre, or not. If it is not, it cannot be the object of knowledge like the flower in the sky. If it is said to be born, then other factors like imperfections ('doṣas') should be said to be responsible. Even then the revelation of silver remains inexplicable ; for, firstly, the cognition of silver produced by these imperfections is prior to the silver which is supposed to exist on nacre, and hence can be said to be not relating to that object (i.e., silver); secondly, if another cognition not produced by these imperfections be held responsible for the existence of silver on nacre, then any such of innumerable cognitions can be regarded as such ; thirdly, the cognition produced by these imperfections is, nevertheless, born out of the silver previously cognised, and if the present silver is said to be produced by that cognition, it turns out to be as real as the formerly perceived silver ; fourthly, if the cognition is not regarded as produced by a previously perceived silver, it cannot have silver as its object. Hence in this view the silver which is erroneously cognised remains uncognised in all respects.<sup>15</sup>

The list of critical arguments put forward by the Advaita Vedāntists against the Prābhākaras, the Nyaiyāyikas and the Buddhists may be given below.

15 “स वक्तव्यः—किं तद्वज्रतं जायते ? न वेति ? न चेत् जायमानस्वरूपं न स्यात् आकाशवत् । जायते चेन्न ; अर्थादर्थान्तराभावात् । अथ ज्ञानादेव दुष्टकारणजन्याद्रजतोत्पाद इति तदाह—‘अथ पुनर्दुष्टकारणजन्यायाः प्रतीतेरेव रजतोत्पाद इती’ति । जनक-प्रतीते रजतात् पूर्वकालत्वादतद्विषयत्वात्, प्रतीत्यन्तरस्यादुष्टकारणस्य तद्विषयत्वे सर्वप्रतीति-विषयत्वप्रसङ्गात्, दुष्टकारणप्रतीतेश्च रजतजन्यतया तदालम्बनत्वे रजतस्यार्थक्रियावृत्तया सत्त्व-प्रसङ्गात्, अतज्जन्यत्वे तद्विषयत्वाभावात् अप्रतीतिमेव रजतं स्यादिति भावः ।” (*Ibid.* pp. 192-194).

Firstly, according to the three schools, there is a contradiction in perception ('anubhavavirodha') ; for, the Prābhākaras ('akhyātivādins') regard the perception of silver as its recollection, the Nyaiyāyikas ('anyathākhyātivādins') regard a void connection between the substratum and the object of false knowledge and the silver lying in front as existing elsewhere, the Buddhists ('ātmakhyātivādins') regard what is perceived outside as being an internal object.<sup>16</sup>

Secondly, many unwarranted factors are recognised by the Prābhākaras and the Nyaiyāyikas. The Prābhākaras have to recognise two pieces of knowledge (one of the nature of perception and the other that of memory), obliteration of some aspects of memory, non-recognition of difference due to this, final actions flowing out of such non-recognition, and even existence of pre-natal memory. The Nyaiyāyikas also have to admit the existence of an object lying elsewhere as lying before, the capability of sense-organs generating the knowledge of even previously cognised and remote objects, the imperfections ('doṣas') having such mysterious power and the existence of a void connection between objects.<sup>17</sup>

As against the theory of Rāmānuja ('satkhyātivāda'), it is argued by the Advaita Vedāntists that his hypothesis of combination of all five elements in every object of the universe cannot satisfactorily explain why the element of the most predominant proportion (as that of nacre) is not perceived while the most fragmentary proportion of another object (i.e., silver) is perceived. Rāmānuja has, moreover, made a metaphysical deviation in explaining dream-experiences where he has invoked the power of God to account for such experiences which are

16 "किञ्च, ज्ञानद्वयपक्षेऽख्यातावपरोक्षावभासिनः स्मर्यमाणत्वे, सर्वत्र प्रतिपन्नोपाधौ विषयसत्त्वाभावेऽन्यथाख्यातौ प्रतिपन्नस्य संसर्गस्य शून्यत्वे पुरोदेशप्रतिपन्नस्य रजतस्य देशान्तरसत्त्वे च, आत्मख्यातौ बहिरवभासस्यान्तरत्वे चानुभवविरोधः स्यात्, न तथाऽस्मत्पक्ष इत्याह—'एवञ्च सति नानुभवविरोध इति' ।" (*Ibid.* p. 204).

17 "ज्ञानद्वय-पारोक्ष्य-स्मृतित्व-स्मरणाभिमानप्रमोष-तद्वैतविवेक-तन्निमित्त-प्रवृत्तयो जन्मान्तरानुभूतस्मृतिश्चेत्यप्रतिपन्नमपूर्वं बहु कल्पनीयमख्यातौ, अन्यथाख्यातौ चान्यस्य प्रतिपन्नस्यान्यत्र सत्त्वम्, इन्द्रियस्य च जन्मान्तरानुभूतदेशकालव्यवहितार्थग्राहित्वम्, दोषस्य च तथाविधादृष्टसामर्थ्यम्, संसर्गस्य च शून्यस्य प्रत्यक्षतेति प्रमाणविरुद्धं बहु कल्पनीयम्" । (*Ibid.* p. 205).

different from one person to another. His theory of *deus ex machina* cannot satisfy a philosophical attitude.

The Mādhyamika theory of 'asatkhyātivāda', which rests on its metaphysical hypothesis of absolute void ('śūnya' or 'mahāśūnya') is crippled when such a metaphysic is seen to be unsound; for, the questions may arise; how far consistently we can imagine the connection of the universe with such 'śūnya'? How can the universe originate from 'śūnya', the ultimate principle? If the universe is regarded as false, illusory, what is then the necessity of recognising such a 'śūnya'? These questions cannot be satisfactorily answered by the Mādhyamikas.

Even if the Mādhyamika metaphysic be accepted, a very serious charge is levelled by the Advaita Vedāntists not only against their theory, but also against those of others who admit the revelation of an absolutely non-existent object, such as the Mādhyas and the Vijñānabhikṣu school of Sāṅkhya ('sadasatkhyātivāda'). An absolutely non-existent object ('asat') can never come into cognition, for the knowledge of castles in the air can never be a *directly realised* knowledge. Vijñānabhikṣu has also admitted the silver to be partially non-existent for according to him it is both existent and non-existent. Hence his theory also is open to this serious charge.

### *Conclusion*

We have seen before that the explanation offered by the Advaita Vedāntists is the most logical one in the explanation of false knowledge of silver on nacre. The silver is, according to them, 'anirvacanīya'. This term has also been the subject of much misunderstanding. 'Anirvacanīya' does not mean, as is ordinarily and cursorily explained, 'not capable of being described.' It can be described, if not positively, by negative logic. It is neither existent ('sat') like the objects which exist as they are perceived; nor is it absolutely non-existent ('asat') like the flower in the sky, for, otherwise it could not have come into cognition. It is different from both ('sadasadvilakṣaṇa'). This is the nature of a false object, an illusorily cognised thing. Falsity is the mark of an 'anirvacanīya' object, like silver. All the different theories must necessarily accept this position. ( "सर्वासां ह्यातीनामनिचनीयह्यातौ पर्यवसानमाहुः"—इष्टसिद्धि २।१ )

In fine, we shall fail in doing justice to the exposition of this prob-



lem if we do not criticise a very current view that the problem of 'khyātivāda' can be exclusively divided and explained under five heads: (i) 'ātmakhyāti', (ii) 'asatkhyāti', (iii) 'akhyāti', (iv) 'anyathākhyāti', (v) 'anirvacanīyakhyāti'. There is a very well-known and prevalent couplet which so divides the different theories:

“आत्मख्यातिरसत्ख्यातिरख्यातिः ख्यातिरन्यथा ।

तथाऽनिर्वचनख्यातिरित्येतत् ख्यातिपञ्चकम् ॥”

This seems to us to be a wholly erroneous view. The 'khyātivādas', to be scientifically classified, can only be discussed from four angles of vision and all these different theories and many others will be included in one or other of these. The object of illusion (viz., 'silver') can be either existent ('sat') or non-existent ('asat'), or both existent and non-existent ('sadasat') or neither existent nor non-existent ('sadasadvilakṣaṇa'); and then we can have four varieties of 'khyātivāda': (i) *Satkhyātivāda*, (ii) *Asatkhyātivāda*, (iii) *Sadasatkhyātivāda*, (iv) *Sadasadvilakṣaṇakhyātivāda*. Thus the 'ātmakhyātivāda' of the Buddhists is as much a variety of 'satkhyātivāda' as the theory of Rāmānuja is, for the former regards the silver as *existent* in knowledge. Thus the theory of the Nyaiyāyikas who hold the silver *existent* somewhere else and that of the Prābhākaras who hold it equally *existent* in that it is recalled, are also to be included into 'satkhyātivāda'. The theories of the Mādhyamikas and the Mādhvas are examples of 'asatkhyātivāda', while the theory of Vijñānabhikṣu is 'sadasatkhyātivāda'. The theory of the Advaita Vedāntists is 'sadasadvilakṣaṇakhyātivāda' or 'anirvacanīyakhyātivāda' which we have seen to be the most logically consistent theory. Thus the commonly prevailing classification of the different theories of 'khyātivāda', as indicated above, cannot stand the scrutiny of a scientific attitude which recognises the classification as we have pointed out.

## The Effect of Candellā Invasions on Bengal

There are two Khajurāho Epigraphs, viz., No. 2 dated V.S. 1011<sup>1</sup> and No. 4 dated V. S. 1059<sup>2</sup>, which, while outlining the military expeditions of the Candella kings, Yaśovarman and his son Dhaṅga-deva, refer to their invasions on several states in Eastern India, particularly Bengal and Bihar.

The Candellas appear to have been very alert and watchful in their relations towards the Eastern States, as they apprehended their rulers would consolidate their power, if they get an opportunity, and that they might jeopardise the security of their own State. It was for this reason that Yaśovarman and subsequently his son and successor, Dhaṅga are found to have regularly adopted a policy of crippling the resources of the East Indian rulers, in which respect they seem to have followed the Gurjara Pratihāras<sup>3</sup>.

V. 23 of the Khajurāho Inscription of V. S. 1011 reads as follows

“*Gauḍa krīḍālatāsi-stulita Khaṣavalah Kośalah Kośalānām  
Naśyat Kāsmīra-vīrah śithilita Mithilah kālavan-Mālavānām  
Sīdat sābadya Cediḥ Kurutaruṣu marut saṃjuaro Gūrjjarāṇām*”<sup>4</sup>

This verse claims that Yaśovarman undertook a number of campaigns over a vast area in Northern India, from the Himālayas to Mālava and from Kāsmīr to Bengal<sup>5</sup>. There must be an element of exaggeration in this account, but the consensus of opinion among

1 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. I, p. 122-35.

2 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 137-47.

3 The Sāgartāl (Gwalior) Inscription of Bhoja (*ASI.*, 1903-4, pp. 277-82; *EL.*, XVIII, pp. 99-114) bears testimony to his achievements in Bengal region as well as those of his predecessors, Vatsarāja and Nāgabhaṭa II. A number of inscriptions of Mahendrapāla, son of Bhoja, found in Bihar and Bengal, also prove his authority in Eastern India. (*History of Bengal*, Dacca University, vol. I, p. 175)

4 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. I, pp. 126, 132.

5 Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol. II, p. 675; *History of Bengal*, vol. I, p. 132.

scholars is that Yaśovarman must be credited with military successes in some regions, at least Bihar and Bengal.

It is to be particularly noted that the military power of the Gauḍas in the opinion of the praśastikāra was so insignificant that it could be subdued as easily as a pleasure-creeper is cut down with the help of a sword. If this statement is to be believed, the military weakness of the Gauḍa rulers must have been one of the main factors responsible for their defeat. The decline of the Pāla power at this stage is a well-known fact and is borne out by independent data<sup>6</sup>.

The Khajurāho Inscription, by referring to the Gauḍas, undoubtedly meant the Pālas. The Candella invasion took place before 954 A. D. This was the time when Rājyapāla (c. 908-40 A. D.) and after him Gopāla II (c. 940-60 A.D.)<sup>7</sup> occupied the Pāla throne. They were admittedly weak rulers and were unable to retrieve the lost fortunes of their family, whose decline started shortly after Devapāla's reign.

As the history of the Pālas show, there were different successful attempts made by these rulers to recover their lost power in the 10th and 11th centuries. The recuperative power of the Pālas could not be overlooked by the Candellas, who regarded them as their potential enemy. This explains the reason why Yaśovarman led his expedition against Gauḍa. In fact he was only following a line of action which is demanded by the recognition of a danger inherent in a political situation which had menacing potentialities. The Pālas were the '*prakṛtyamitra*' of the Candellas as described in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭiliya.<sup>8</sup>

The reference in the Khajurāho inscription to Yaśovarman's attack on Gauḍa does not imply that any attempt was made by him to incorporate the dominion of the defeated Gauḍa king in his realm.<sup>9</sup> But it may be assumed that his expedition made the Pāla

6 *DHNI*, vol. I, pp. 303-4; *HB.*, vol. I, pp. 125-30; B. C. Sen. *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*, pp. 360-61.

7 The Chronology of the Pāla Kings, chap. VI, App. II (pp. 176-77) in *History of Bengal* vol. I (D.U.).

8 R. Shāmaśāstry's *Translation*, p. 290, (Book VI, 260, Chap. II).

9 The actual extent of the Candella dominions, as it stood during the reign of Dhaṅga, has been outlined in v. 45 of the Khajurāho Insc. No. 2 (*El.*, vol. I, p. 129). It extended from the river Yamunā in the north to the frontier of

power still weaker and less able to resist any attack. The confusion which the Gauda invasion created gave an opportunity to the Kāmbojas to capture north and western Bengal and to found a separate kingdom.<sup>10</sup>

The Dinājpur Rāj Palace Pillar Inscription<sup>11</sup> refers to a Gauda king of Kāmboja lineage (*Kāmbojānvayaja-Gaudapati*), and the Irdā Copper Plate Grant<sup>12</sup> mentions a line of Kāmboja rulers (*Kāmbojāvaṃśatilakāḥ*) dominating considerable portions of West Bengal. The scholars are generally of the opinion that the Kāmboja rule began from about the middle of the 10th century A.D. The establishment of the Kāmboja power seems to have been preceded by the invasion of Gauda by Yaśovarman. Thus it appears that although the Candellas did not occupy Gauda, their invasion created a situation in which it was possible for another family to occupy the territory.

The Bāngaḍ Grant of Mahīpāla<sup>13</sup>, who re-occupied Gauda, says that those under whose possession this territory had remained had no real title to it, and were merely usurpers. The expression *vilupta* used in this connection clearly shows the complete loss of power of the Pālas in this area. There is no indication in this passage to show that this loss was the culmination of any serious fight put up by the Pālas against their enemy. The enemies' victory seems to have been simply a case of usurpation (*anadbikṛta viluptam*). The Pālas with their army greatly impaired (as shown by the Khajurāho Record)<sup>14</sup>, had been so much weakened by the Candellas, that they had no means of efficiently resisting this usurpation.

The attention of the Candellas towards Bengal affairs was not withdrawn after the conclusion of Yaśovarman's successful military operations. While the Pālas had been humiliated, the Kāmbojas,

the Cedi country in the South, and from Kālāñjara in the north or north-east to Gopāḍi (mod. Gwālior) in the north-west.

10 There is a sharp difference of opinion among scholars regarding the origin and identity of the Kāmboja rulers, vide pp. 190-91 (App. V), Shap. VI. *History of Bengal*, vol. I.

11 *JASB.*, (N.S.) vol. VII, p. 619.

12 *Epi. Ind.*, vol. XXII, pp. 150-59; vol. XXIV, p. 43

13 *JASB.*, vol. LXI p. 77; *Epi. Ind.*, vol. XIV, p. 324.

14 No. 2, dated V.S. 1011.

who replaced their rule in substantial parts of Bengal, were growing in power. The Kāmboja rulers assumed all the imperial titles, viz., “*Parameśvara, Parama-bhattāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*”<sup>15</sup>. It was therefore necessary for the Candellas to watch the rising power with due alertness, so that it might not be a source of danger to them in future.

The next stage was reached when Dhaṅga led his expedition against West Bengal, as implied in V. 46 of the Khajurāho Inscription No. 4 dated in V.S. 1059, corresponding to 1002 A.D. It reads:—

“*Kā tvaṁ Kāñcī-nṛpati vaṇitā/Kā tvaṁ Aṁḍhrādhīpa-strī/  
Kā tvaṁ Rāḍhā-parivṛta vadhūḥ/Kā tvaṁ Aṅendra-patnī/  
Itiyālāpāḥ samara-jayino yasya vairi priyāṇām/  
Kārāgāre sajala-nayan-endīvarāṇām babbhūvuh/|*”<sup>16</sup>

The expedition indicated in the verse against Rāḍhā must have taken place before 1000 A.D., i.e., sometime between 954 and 1002 A.D. The Kāmbojas were ruling in West Bengal, (Varddhamaṇabhukti, Daṇḍabhukti maṇḍala)<sup>17</sup> during this time. Hence if the Candellas actually invaded Rāḍhā under Dhaṅga, they must have come into contact with the Kāmbojas. It is noteworthy however that this inscription does not refer to Gauḍa. The Kāmbojas, on the other hand, actually ruled in Gauḍa, as the Dinājpur Inscription read with the Bāṅgaḍ Grant of Mahīpāla would definitely show. But the Candellas might have been contented merely with an invasion of Rāḍhā, which must have been an important centre of their power.

Dhaṅga, like his predecessor Yaśovarman, did not take any step to annex Rāḍhā to his dominion. The object of these foreign invasions seems to have been merely to weaken the ruling power, so that no attempt could be made by it to extend itself beyond certain limits. With the weakening of the Kāmbojas as a result of Dhaṅga's invasion, the Pālas found an opportunity to re-assert themselves and to re-conquer their lost territory.

The Bāṅgaḍ Inscription shows that the recovery of North Bengal by Mahīpāla I must have been completed by the 9th year of his

15 Ll. 18-20. Irdā Copper Plate. (*El.*, vol. XXII, p. 150 ff.).

16 *Epi. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 145.

17 Ll. 20-21. Irdā Copper Plate.

reign, corresponding to about 998 A.D. When Rājendra Coḷa's army invaded Bengal in about 1023 A.D.<sup>18</sup>, Uttara-Rādhā appears to have been included in his (Mahīpāla's) dominion. It is quite possible that this part of West Bengal came into the possession of Mahīpāla after the Candella raid on West Bengal by Dhaṅga. Another part of West Bengal, Dakṣiṇa-Rādhā (south-western part of Bengal between the Ajay and Dāmodar rivers), according to the Tirumalai Inscription<sup>19</sup>, was at this time under the rule of a Śūra king, Raṇaśūra. Thus the Kāmboja authority collapsed in Varendrī<sup>20</sup> and Rādhā, with the probable exception of Daṇḍabhukti, where a prince called Dharmapāla was ruling contemporaneously with those kings mentioned above, presuming that he represented the family of the Pāla-Kāmboja rulers, whose names are given in the Irdā Copper Plate Grant.

SISIR KUMAR MITRA

18 The Coḷas. (K. A. Nilkaṇṭha Śāstri) p. 247 ff.

19 Tirumalai Rock Inscription of Rājendra Coḷa I, *Epi. Ind.*, vol. IX, p. 229. (Edited by Hultzsch).

20 North Bengal; Vide *Kavi Prasasti of the Rāmacarita* by Sandhyākara Nandi which mentions "Varendrī" as 'Janakabhūḥ' of the Pālas. It appears to be identical with the 'pitryam' (paternal kingdom) of the Bāgaḍ Grant of Mahīpāla I (L. 24).

## MISCELLANY

### Padmaprabha Maladhāri\*

Unlike his other works which have been commented upon by more than one writer, the *Niyamasāra* of the great teacher Koṇḍakundācārya has yielded only one commentary named *Tātparyavṛtti*. The author of this commentary is Padmaprabha Maladhāri. Padmaprabha gives practically no biographical details about himself and very few historical facts are known about him. In his learned paper on Padmaprabha Maladhāri published in the *Bombay University Journal*<sup>1</sup> Dr. A. N. Upadhye has gathered certain facts about this commentator from his work and assigned an approximate date to him with the help of a few inscriptions. Fortunately more clinching evidence is at our disposal now to trace the sphere of his activities and fix his date with precision.

The epigraph<sup>2</sup> incised on a pillar set up at the southern entrance into the village of Pātaśivaram, Madaksira taluk, Anantapur District, Madras State, refers to the reign of the Western Cālukya monarch Tribhuvanamalla Vīra-Sōmēśvara IV and introduces his feudatory Tribhuvanamalla Bhōgadēva Cōla Mahārāja who was governing the tract from his capital Hemjēru. Then comes the interesting description of the illustrious Jaina preceptor Padmaprabha Maladhāri, which runs as follows :<sup>3</sup>

“He was the favourite son (i.e., disciple) of the illustrious divine Vīraṇandi Siddhāntacakravarti. He was engrossed in the practices of self-restraint, religious observances and study, meditation and silence and was engaged in expounding the principles of the eight *āgamas*. He was an ocean of virtues sanctioned by the scriptures. He was a centre of affection of the goddess of knowledge which is Syādvāda.

\* This paper was contributed to the history section of the All-India Oriental Conference, Lucknow, 1951. It is published here with the kind permission of the president.

1 *Arts and Law number*, vol. IX, pt. II, 1942, September.

2 *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. IX, pt. I, No. 278.

3 The original inscription is in Kannada. I have translated here only the relevant portions of the descriptive passage (lines 14-28),

He was immersed in contemplation of the supreme principle which is immutable, boundless and self-existent. Divested of the projected activities of the five senses, the only possession he held was his mortal frame (*pañcendriya-prasara-varjita-gātra-mātra-parigrabarūṁ*). He never indulged in discussions that would hurt the feelings of others (*parapiḍākara-carcā-dūraruṁ*). He was a conflagration to the forest of sins."

Now Padmaprabha Maladhāri, the author of the commentary *Tātparyavṛtti*, as known from his work, was the disciple of Vīra-nandi. Further, two characteristic epithets which seem to distinguish his personality are mentioned in his work. They are, (i) "one who was divested of the projections of the five senses" (*pañcendriya-prasara-varjita*) and (ii) "one whose only possession was his mortal frame" (*gātra-mātra-parigraba*)<sup>4</sup>. We may note that these very epithets figure in the above description of Padmaprabha Maladhāri in the inscription at Pātaśivaram. From this it becomes clear that Padmaprabha Maladhāri of the Pātaśivaram record must be identical with his namesake commentator of *Tātparyavṛtti*.

The Pātaśivaram epigraph next gives the details of the date when Padmaprabha Maladhāri breathed his last. As this part of the inscription is composed in verse and the published text, construed as prose, contains a few flaws and lacunae. I cite here in full the text of this portion (lines 30-34) as restored with the help of the original impressions<sup>5</sup>. The verse in question which is in the *Mahāśragdharā* metre reads thus :

Saka-varṣaṁ sapta-kh-ēndu-kṣiti 1107 parimiti-Viśvāvasu-  
prānta-Phālgu- 1  
ṇnya-kanac-chuddhā-Caturthī-tithi-yuta-Bharaṇī-Sōmavār-  
ārdha-rātr-ā- 11  
dhika-nāḍy-ēkāntyadoḷu(!) nirmmaḷa-mati-Maḷabhṛṇ(bhṛn)-  
nāma-Padmaprabhaṁ Pu- 1  
staka-gacchaṁ Mūla-saiṅghaṁ yatipati-nuta-dēśi-gaṇaṁ  
muktan-ādaṁ 11

4 *Bomb. Uni. Journ. (op. cit.)*, p. 100.

5 As a member of the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, I had an easy access to the original impressions and my thanks are due to the above authority for this.



This verse narrates the precise moment of the passing away of this illustrious teacher. It was Śaka 1107, Viśvāvasu, Phālguna śu. 4, Bharanī, Monday, end of the first nāḍī after midnight.<sup>6</sup> This date corresponds to A.D. 1185, February 24, Monday. It may also be noted here that Padmaprabha Maladhāri was a constituent of the Mūla saṁgha, Dēsi gaṇa and Pustaka gaṇa.

Padmaprabha Maladhāri deserves to be reckoned among the eminent teachers of the Jaina Law not only on account of his scholarship and poetic genius<sup>7</sup> as judged from his commentary, but also for his other sterling virtues as revealed by the epigraph. The epigraph expatiates at length upon his rigorous detachment from material pursuits and on asceticism par-excellence, and saintliness of a high order. Significant in the latter context is the specific description that he never indulged in discussions that would injure the feelings of others. Thus he was an angel as it were placed among the mortals ever exhorting more by his actions than by precepts the great truths of non violence and service to mankind. It is no wonder then that the poet who composed the record makes a touching reference to his departure from this world in the following simple phrases<sup>8</sup>, "plunged in penance, having lived and moved on this earth, a conflagration to the wild forest of sinfulness, the illustrious divine passed away!"

Attracted by his pious life and selfless personality many a devout soul even from far-off places appears to have approached Padmaprabha Maladhāri claiming him as his teacher. An inscription from Niṭṭūru<sup>9</sup> in the Gubbi taluk, Tumkur District, Mysore State, introduces a pious lady called Jaināmbikā as a lay disciple of this teacher. The date of this epigraph has to be placed in 1219 A.D. corresponding to the cyclic year Pramādhī specified in it. It is quite

6 The Śaka year is expressed both in chronogram and the numerical figure and the latter has to be ignored while reciting the verse.

7 He was more of a spiritual poet than of a commentator as shown by Dr. Upadhye. In this context we may note with interest his epithet *sukaviṇaya-payōja-mitra*, which means 'the sun to the lotuses, the benevolent poets.'

8 The Kannaḍa text reads thus: *pāpātavi-pāvakaṁm-appa śrī-Padmaprabha-Maladhāri-dēvaru tapōṇiṣṭharāgi naḍeyādi.....muktan-ādam*

9 *Ep. Can.* vol. XII, Gubbi 8.

clear from the contents of the Pātaśivaram record discussed above that Padmaprabha was not alive at this time.

Interesting is the manner in which Padmaprabha Maladhāri is referred to in another inscription found in a Jaina temple on the hill at Niḍugallu<sup>10</sup> in the Pāvugaḍa taluk of the same district. The object of the epigraph is to record the erection of a Jaina temple by a local chief named Gangeyana Māreya. But the inscription probing deeper into the history of the religious associations of the donor, narrates that he was initiated into the Jaina faith by Nēmi-Paṇḍita. Now this Nēmi-Paṇḍita, we are told, had attained the summum bonum of his life by serving at the feet of his master Padmaprabha Maladhāridēva, a veritable sage of perfection on the face of this earth (*medinī-siddha*). The additional information in this inscription in regard to Padmaprabha that he was the disciple of Vīranandī Siddhānta-cakravartī and belonged to the Mūla saṃgha, Dēśiya gaṇa, Pustaka gaccha, Koṇḍa-kundānvaya and Vāṇada baḷi, unmistakably confirms his identity with the namesake of the Pātaśivaram epigraph. This inscription may be assigned to about 1232 A.D., that is to say, nearly two generations later than the age of Padmaprabha<sup>11</sup>. We may incidentally note the lineage Vāṇada baḷi of the monastic order attributed to Padmaprabha in the above inscription from Niḍugallu.

P. B. DESAI

10 *Ibid.*, Pāvugaḍa 52.

11 Padmaprabha of Tirthahallī 191 (*Ep. Carn.*, vol. VIII) must be a different person as no grounds exist to suggest his identity with Padmaprabha Maladhāri excepting the name.

### Small Pox Vaccine—Its Introduction under Wellesley\*

During the administration of Lord Wellesley vaccine inoculation was introduced for the first time. One Dr. Shoolbred was appointed the Superintendent General of Vaccine Inoculation. At different centres in the territory under the Company a regular staff was appointed and a centre of inoculation was established. The following was the establishment:

The Superintendent General	Rs. 200/-p.m
Four inoculating Brahmins at Rs. 8/- each	Rs. 32/- ,,
One Muhammadan inoculator ... ..	Rs. 8/- ,,
One peon to collect patients ... ..	Rs. 5/- ,,
One writer to assist in keeping the register	Rs. 15/- ,,

The surgeon of the place was appointed the Subordinate Superintendent.

From the beginning of the year 1805 regular efforts were made to propagate the new method. Mr. Shoolbred found difficulties in the way of propagating the new method and sought the intervention of the Supreme Government. He analysed difficulties in the following manner: (1) dislike of the people in general to innovation of every kind, (2) extreme apathy of their character which prevented their adopting any proposal which did not present to them immediate benefit, and (3) lastly the hostility of a class of men desirous of suppressing it from motives of private interest. He explained further the third cause thus: "There are persons employed in the inoculation of small pox, some of whom are brahmins and others of inferior castes; but all agreeing in this, that they omit no means to bring the new practice into discredit" (vide Home Public, 25th April, 1805). These men declared the vaccine as impure since it came from the cow. They also declared that vaccine was inefficacious and produced in evidence men who had been inoculated but had got eruptions. After proper enquiry, it was, however, found out that these cases were not of small pox but of chicken pox. Other interested persons hostile to this inoculation even circulated the story that these European

\* This paper has been based on original papers pertaining to the administration of Lord Wellesley preserved in the National Archives of India.

surgeons had not the welfare of the people at heart but they were interested in collecting drops of blood from Indian children. Bitter opponents of the new system were men who were following their own old method.

In order to overcome difficulties the Governor General issued orders for the removal of obstacles and a plan was devised by which the existing Indian inoculators could be benefited personally. These inoculators were invited to watch how the new system worked. Public demonstration of two methods was organised in order to prove that the existing method did not give immunity to the people. The Government made efforts to secure the approval of these Indian inoculators by making them sign a paper in which they all had to mention that the method was efficacious and was in no way prejudicial to religious beliefs (vide Home Public, 23rd March, 1805. No. 29).

The experiment was tried thus. A number of Indian children were inoculated at the hospital. Panch Kouree and Rahat two sons of a muslim, washerman Kallu were inoculated in Calcutta with fresh small pox matter taken on the spot from a boy on the ninth day of the eruption in the natural way. These children were inoculated in each arm by Birdjoo Paul in the Bengali manner, and in each fore arm by Shoolbred in the English manner. But these children did not suffer as they had taken the vaccine inoculation earlier. On the first of March, 1805, Birdjoo Paul inoculated his own son Thakur Dass in the old manner with vaccine matter at the Bengali Hospital but he got the disease. Likewise several such experiments were demonstrated.

In spite of these experiments not much success was achieved. The Governor General in a minute discussed this matter and considered the suggestions of one Dr. Buchanan for the propagation of the method. Dr. Buchanan suggested that with a view to gain public support for these measures it might be advisable to consult the principal Hindu Law Officers together with some of the learned pundits in order to procure from them a declaration that the practice of vaccination was not contrary to Hindu Law and no person could be legally deprived of caste either for having performed or undergone the operation. The second suggestion of Dr. Buchanan was that of the Hindus who had considerable practice in the inoculation for small pox may be induced to relinquish their former profession and to

adopt vaccination and they be granted pensions for life. Two principal inoculators in Calcutta (one of whom employed six assistants and the other two assistants) expressed their readiness to undertake to do every thing in their power to help the Government on condition they received a monthly pension for life. Third proposal of Dr. Buchanan was that Hindus of rank and fortune should be induced to have their children vaccinated and the Governor General should confer marks of distinction on such parents. The Governor General did not consider the proposal to refer the matter to the Law Officers and of conferring marks of distinction acceptable but accepted the other proposal of Dr. Buchanan. Accordingly Birdjoo Paul was ordered to receive Rs. 16/- for himself and Rs. 10/- for each of his six assistants and Joyadeb Acharjee to receive Rs. 12/- for himself and Rs. 10/- for each of his assistants. They had to bind themselves to the promotion of the use of vaccination in the town of Calcutta.

Gradually, however, prejudices were overcome, and men trained in the skill of giving vaccination were sent to other parts of the Presidency. Regular establishments were provided at different centres under the supervision of the surgeon of the place. District Judges and Officers were asked to report about the popularity of the measure (Vide Home Public 4th Oct., 1805, No. 28-34). Apart from the humanitarian motive which actuated the introduction of this measure the Government Officers viewed it from another angle also. "From the great benefit to the human race with which vaccination has been attended for some time I had it in contemplation to submit to the consideration of Government for its introduction into this part of the Ceded Provinces." Thus Archibald Seton, Agent to the Governor General at Bareilly, referred to the good effects of vaccination and the readiness with which the Rohillas took to it. He further wrote "I am induced by these circumstances to believe that the regular introduction of vaccination under the management of the surgeon of the station would be attended with great benefit to the inhabitants of this province, exclusive of which it would no doubt, be attended with the political advantage of making a most desirable impression upon their minds, by exhibiting a fresh proof of the humane and benevolent system of the British Government, and of

its unwearied attention to the health and welfare of its native subjects (vide *Home Public*, 7th June, 1805, No 29)

In a previous communication dated 18th March, 1805 Mr. Seton had thus commented on the utility of the measure. "As this circumstance, exclusive of its more obvious beneficial consequences may eventually be the means of adding to the popularity of the British Government in these provinces, I take liberty to communicate it officially for the information of His Excellency."

After having been thus approached Thomas Brown the Secretary to the Government addressed a letter dated 24th August, 1805 to members of the Medical Board soliciting their opinion about the expediency of establishing a depot for vaccine inoculation at Bareilly. Members of the Medical Board agreed with the suggestion and a depot was established accordingly.

We have thus seen in what circumstance the measure was introduced. We may note in this connection that a crude system of inoculation existed in the country and when the new method was introduced, there was hostility of those who used to inoculate according to the existing methods. There was religious prejudice amongst the Hindus also. Muslims in much larger numbers agreed to get themselves inoculated. We notice that apart from humane considerations the Officers of the Government of the East India Company were moved by political motives also in introducing this measure. They felt that the foundations of British rule could be strengthened by the introduction of such a measure. Such is the story of the introduction of an earlier scientific innovation amongst a population which was not used to such novel methods.

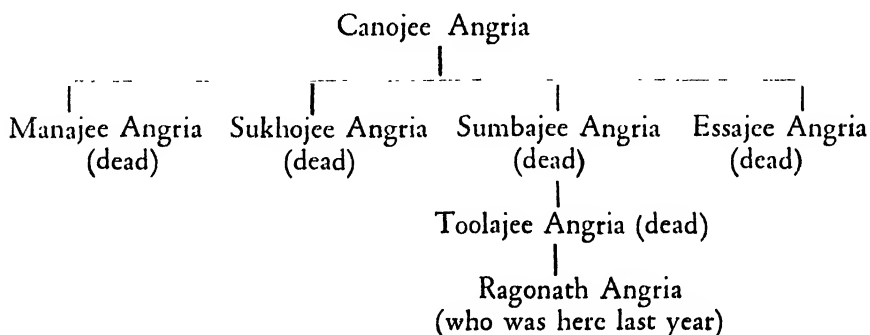
O. P. BHATNAGAR

## A Note on Raghunath Angria

There are a few references to Raghunath Angria, son of Tulaji Angria, in the Foreign Department Political Consultation, 31 August 1840, no 11, preserved in the National Archives of India, New Delhi.

The *gaddi* of Kolaba fell vacant after the death of the infant Kanhoji II on the 9th April 1840. Sambhaji Angria, a nephew of Babu Rao Angria, who usurped the state about 1797/98, was a claimant to the *gaddi*. While considering the respective claims of the different members of the Angria family, Mr. J. P. Willoughby, Secretary to the Bombay Government, in his memorandum of the 2nd May 1840 observed, "According to Mr. Courtney's account, the senior branch of Angria's family became extinct many years ago, on the demise of Toolajee Angria. On referring however to Mr. Wathen's genealogical table, it will be observed that Toolajee is there represented to have had a son named Ragoonath Angria, and who is stated to have been in Bombay, in 1821. This discrepancy requires to be enquired into<sup>1</sup>, but to me it appears doubtful, whether even admitting that this branch of the family has not become extinct, its representative can now possess any claim to the succession".<sup>2</sup>

The relevant extract from the genealogical table made by Mr. Wathen, referred to by Mr. Willoughby, is given below :—



W. H. Wathen, Secretary and Translator, Bombay Country Correspondence Office, submitted the genealogical table along with his

<sup>1</sup> "Since this memorandum was written it has been ascertained that Ragoonath Angria is dead."

<sup>2</sup> *Pol. Cons.*, 31 Aug. 1840, no. 11.

memorandum (relating to the affairs of the Kolaba State) on the 15th January 1822, when Kasi Bai, the widow of Babu Rao Angria, and "Futteh Singh", who claimed to be a son of Kasi Bai, put their claims upon the Kolaba State after Babu Rao's death in 1814.

We know that after the Fort of Vijaydurg was stormed by Admiral Watson in 1756, Tulaji surrendered to Khandoji Mankar and was securely guarded by the Peshwa's men. Tulaji remained a closely watched prisoner in the hands of the Peshwa along with his mother, wives and two sons, Raghuji and Sambhaji, confined in various forts from time to time. Tulaji's sons escaped from their confinement in 1766 to Bombay but the British did not give them shelter in their settlement. Raghuji then went to Haider Ali and remained there long. Tulaji died as a prisoner in Fort Wandan in 1786<sup>3</sup>.

"Ragoonathji Angria"<sup>4</sup>, noticed by Dr. P. C. Gupta in the Bombay Government records, who called himself a son of 'Toolaji Angria' and wrote a letter on the 3rd August 1800 seeking British protection and offering his services in any hostile move against the "Poona Government", was no other than 'Ragoonath Angria' mentioned by the Bombay Secretary, Willoughby. And Dr. Sen very correctly thinks that 'Ragoonathji Angria' and 'Raghunath of the Portuguese records' are one and the same person<sup>5</sup>. Even from this scrappy information, it is evident that Raghunath Angria was not unknown to the Bombay authorities as late as 1840 when his death was reported. It is very likely that further investigations among the Bombay Government records may reveal more information about the activities of this branch of the Angria family.

UPENDRA NATH SARKAR

3 Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, vol. II, pp. 347, 350.

4 Sen, S. N., *A Note on Raghunathji Angria* (*Calcutta Review*, April 1940).

5 *Ibid.*



## Food and Drink in Medieval India

On the study of the medieval historical literature as also the numerous biographical notices of saints, one is struck by the cheapness of prices of food-stuffs in those times. Cloth seems to have been scarce and costly. Even a man of means could hardly afford to have good quality stuffs. But food was extremely cheap; cheap not only in comparison with prices prevailing to-day or according to our standards, but its cheapness appeared as a wonderful thing to the contemporaries also. Thus Ziyāuddīn Baranī praises the cheapness of prices in his times, giving prices of various articles of food.<sup>1</sup> Compared with these, the prices prevailing in the time of Firōz Tughlaq were not unfavourable. If some commodities were cheaper in the reign of Alāuddīn, some others were cheaper during the days of Firōz<sup>2</sup>. ‘Abdullah, author of *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī*, also bears witness to the extreme cheapness of prices of foodstuffs during the reign of the Lūdīs<sup>3</sup>. Most of the chronicles write with a bravado that prices of necessities of life were quite cheap in their days.

Foreigners, too, were struck by cheapness of prices in Medieval India. Khajandī has been cited in the *Maṣālik-ul-Abṣār* as saying: “I and my three friends ate beef, bread and melted butter (*ghī*) for one *ḡital* in some places of Delhi till we were satisfied<sup>4</sup>. In Balban’s days baked bread used to be sold at two *sērs* for a *ḡital*<sup>5</sup>. Public bakeries and cook-houses seem to have been common<sup>6</sup>. They were precursors of modern hotels but were certainly not liked or used by the Hindus.

Arabic and Persian writers give interesting data about the cereals, fruits, vegetables etc. of those days. Wheat was commonly used but

1 Baranī: *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*, Bib. Ind. Text (hereafter referred to as Baranī) p. 305. Elsewhere I have calculated to find that “a present day rupee would buy about two present day maunds of wheat in ‘Alāuddīn’s time.” See my *History of the Khaljis* pp. 270-271.

2 ‘Alī: *Tārīkh-i-Firōz Shāhī*.

3 *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī*, Bankipur Ms. Fol. 223-24.

4 al-Qalqāshindī: *Subḥul A’sḥā*, English translation by Otto Spies, Aligarh, (hereafter as Alqal) pp. 56-57.

5 *Favāidul Favāid* by Ḥasan Sijzī, Urdu Trs., Lahore, (hereafter abbreviated as FF.) p. 100.

6 Baranī, pp. 318-19. Also *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī*.

was "the dearest article", and barley is mentioned oftener in the hagiological literature. Other cereals were peas, lintels, *māsh*, *lōbiyā* and sesame. Rice is said to be of as many kinds as twenty-one<sup>8</sup>. Wheat bread, baked (*roṭī*) or fried (*pūrī*), was eaten with *dāl*, meat and vegetable curries. Chapatis were cooked in *tandūrs*<sup>9</sup>, even now common in the Punjab, and open ovens (*chulhā*) common all over India. Other dishes were churned curd<sup>10</sup>, *kbajūr*<sup>11</sup>, meat and meat soup (*āsh*)<sup>12</sup>. *Parāthā*<sup>13</sup>, *halwā*<sup>14</sup> and *harisā*<sup>15</sup> were common with the rich, *kbichrī*<sup>16</sup> and *sattū*<sup>17</sup> with the poor. Muslims were generally meat-eaters and mostly ate "the flesh of cow and goat though they have many sheep, because they have become accustomed to it."<sup>18</sup> A cow for slaughtering cost only one and a half Tankāh, while fowls, pigeons and other birds were sold very cheap.<sup>19</sup> The Hindus as a rule were vegetarians. Of the vegetables mentioned are cucumber,<sup>20</sup> pumpkin, various kinds of *sāg*, *karelā* (bitter gourd)<sup>21</sup> turnip, carrot, asparagus, ginger, garden beet, onion, garlic, fennel and thyme<sup>22</sup>. This certainly does not exhaust the list, but these have found specific mention. Vegetables were cooked and fried with various kinds of *masālās* and butter; and as if the spices were not enough to 'whip up the action of the stomach,' a great number of pickles (*achārs*) were used. Tamarind was commonly used and grown in abundance<sup>23</sup>. *A'ijāz-i-Khusravī* of Amīr Khusrau and *Kitābur Raḥla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭah are full of references to these relishes without which Indian meals, then as now, are never complete. Pickles were prepared from green mangoes as well as ginger and chillies.<sup>24</sup>

7 *Maṣālikul Abṣār*, Elliot, vol. III, p. 583.

8 *Alqal*, pp. 48-49.

9 *FF.*, p. 174.

10 *Rāḥatul Qulūb* by Nizāmuddin Auliya, Urdu Trs., Lahore (hereafter referred to as *RQ.*) p. 35.

11 *Sāruḥ Auliya* by Mir Khusrau Urdu Trs., (hereafter as *SA.*) p. 273.

12 *RQ.*, p. 10.

13 *SA.*, pp. 173, 176.

14 *Baranī*, pp. 318-19; *SA.*, p. 173; *FF.*, pp. 75, 89.

15 *Baranī*, p. 316; *SA.*, pp. 173-176.

16 *FF.*, p. 41.

17 *SA.*, p. 226.

18 *Alqal*, p. 56.

19 *Baranī*, also *Maṣālik*, Elliot, vol. III, p. 583.

20 *Alqal*, p. 49.

22 *Alqal*, pp. 49, 50.

21 *SA.*, p. 11

23 *Alqal*, p. 50.

24 See K. M. Ashraf: *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustān*, Asiatic Society of Bengal, pp. 282-3.

The desserts consisted of fresh fruit, dry fruit and sweets. Dry fruits were mostly imported and so were apples, grapes, pears and pomegranates.<sup>25</sup> Melons, green and yellow (*turbūz* and *kḥarbūza*), were grown in abundance<sup>26</sup>. Orange, citron (*utruj*), lemon (*limūn*), lime (*lim*) and figs were also commonly known<sup>27</sup>. Sugar-cane was grown in abundance and Zīyāuddīn Baranī writes the Indian word for it—*pondā*. Mango, then as now, was the most favourite fruit of India. Much praise is bestowed by Ḥasan Sijzī on the mango of Badayūn.<sup>28</sup> Sweet-meats were of many kinds, as many as sixty-five<sup>29</sup>. Some names like *reorī*, sugar-candy, *samosās*, and *halwā*<sup>30</sup> are familiar up to this day.

Fresh water was the chief drink of the people. In summer season it was cooled in earthen jugs. Iced water was a rarity even for the Sultans<sup>31</sup>. *Sharbat*, too, was in vogue. On festive occasions, or to celebrate some victory, the Sultans used to arrange for free distribution of sweets and *sharbat* among the people. Wine, prohibited by religion and disapproved of by all, was drunk freely by those who had a liking for it. Even an 'Alāuddīn, who undertook severe measures to prohibit wine, never gave it up himself; even a religious minded Fīrōz had bottles hidden under his bed. But the after-dinner drink was only water. In this connection the statement of Shihābuddīn is worth quoting. Writing of the days of Muḥammad Tughlaq he says that "the smallest quantity of wine is not to be found either in shops or in private houses: so great is the Sultān's aversion to it and so severe the punishments with which he visits its votaries. Besides, the inhabitants of India have little taste for wine and intoxicating drinks, but content themselves with betel, an agreeable drug, the use of which is permitted without the slightest objection<sup>32</sup>."

25 *SA.*, p. 313. al-Qalqāshindī contradicts himself when at one place he says that grapes were produced in India in abundance (pp. 49-50) and at another place writes: "there are few gardens but no grapes." (p. 28).

Ibn Baṭṭūṭāh writes that the postal service was utilized for importing fruit. "And the fruits of *Kḥurāsān*," says he, "which are much sought after in India, are often conveyed by this means." *Elliot*, vol. III, p. 588.

26 *Alqal*, p. 49.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 49.

28 *FF.*, p. 173.

29 *Alqal*, p. 50.

30 *Baranī*, p. 318.

31 Fīrōz Tughlaq is reported to have been able to get some ice when he went to the Sirmūr hills.

32 *Masālik*, *Elliot*, vol. III, p. 381.

After completion of the meal *thāl* and *loṭā* were brought for washing hands. Gram-flour seems to have been used for soap. Afterwards *pān* was served<sup>33</sup>. It is interesting to note how old the institution of *pān* is. In medieval chronicles it is called by its Sanskrit name *tāmbūl*<sup>34</sup>. It was used and liked by all<sup>35</sup>. People used to take oath and promise their word of honour by accepting *pān*<sup>36</sup>.

Muslims used to dine together, often from the same plate, always on the same board (*dastar Khvān*). For this reason it was particularly necessary for a Muslim to possess good table manners. Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Auliya gave a long discourse to his disciples about observing good manners while eating<sup>37</sup>. Interdining facilitated arrangements for big dinners where a thousand people could eat, not only at the mansions of the nobles<sup>38</sup>, but also in the *khānqāhs* of the saints<sup>39</sup>. The custom also certainly developed feelings of brotherhood and equality among the Muslims.

The practice of interdining by Muslims was neither liked nor practised by the Hindus. Vidyāpati mentions with contempt how Saiyyad and Faqīr and women of easy virtue dined together<sup>40</sup>. "I have seen," says Alberūnī, "Brahmans who allowed their relatives to eat with them from the same plate but most of them disapprove of this<sup>41</sup>." "Scrupulous care had to be observed in eating and drinking. Every Brāhman was required to have his separate drinking vessel and eating utensils; if another man used them they were broken<sup>42</sup>." In these circumstances interdining was out of the question. This practice of the Brahmans had permeated into other castes also and restrictions of interdining had become more than a fad. Brahmans generally did not eat meat, besides they avoided onion and garlic also<sup>43</sup>.

The cheapness of prices and the easy availability of food-stuffs had made people regard any waste in food as a matter of little consequence. The dining board was loaded with victuals irrespective of whether the guest could finish all the food. The number of dishes determined the

33 *FF.*, p. 168.

34 *Baranī*, p. 182. Also *FF.*, p. 168.

35 For praise of betel see Amīr *Khusrāu*: *Deval Rānī*, Aligarh Text p. 50.

36 As to Malik Chhajū in his revolt against Jalāluddīn Khaljī. *Baranī*, p. 182.

37 *SA.*, pp. 373-377.

38. Cf. *Baranī*, p. 116.

39 *RQ.*, p. 9.

40 Vidyāpati: *Kirtilatā*, Indian Press, pp. 42-43.

41 Alberūnī's *India*, Cited in Habib: *Indian Culture and Social Life*, p. 71.

42 *Ibid.*, p. 71.

43 *Habib.*, p. 72.

measure of hospitality. The waste was, however, not so much real as apparent, because there were always a large number of domestics and menials to share the leavings. With the poor also there was no question of thrift in matters of food. They too were not only proverbially hospitable, but on occasions like marriage and festival, they wasted food recklessly.

The diners possessed "huge appetites and greedy stomachs".<sup>44</sup> A very curious custom amongst the Indians was to insist on the guest to partake more of food after he had eaten to satiety, and refusal by the guest was considered impolite. Science had not taught the people of Medieval India the advantages of a light nourishing diet, and they believed in stuffing themselves with savoury and rich victuals.

K. S. LAL

## REVIEWS

BĀMLĀR PĀL-PĀRVAN by Chintaharan Chakravarti. Viśva-vidyāsamgraha No. 96. Visvabharati Granthalay. Calcutta 1359 B.S. (= 1952). The monograph gives in Bengali a critical account of the feasts and festivities of Bengal. It begins with an analysis of the principles that seem to have contributed to the origin of these festivals. Some of the festivities are meant to greet the seasons, some are occasioned by the new harvests developing often into cake-festivals. Very popular are the festivals held in connection with different sacraments for one's children and entertainments for one's kith and kin. Welfare of the society appears to have been the aim of a good many festivities. Lastly, there are religious services and other rites observed to prevent and remove various ailments of an individual as also of the community. According to orthodox classification, there are three classes of festivities—Vedic, Purāṇic and Tāntric. Besides funeral rites and Brāhmanic sacraments, no Vedic ritual is to-day in vogue in Bengal, though a number of Vedic Mantras is used in connection with some of the non-Vedic rites. Purāṇic and Tāntric festivities consist mainly of periodical festive worship of different deities—Vaiṣṇavite, Śaivaite, Śākta and other. Some of these festivities enjoy wide, in cases, all-India celebrity, while many have only a restricted regional popularity. Some of them are very old, mentioned in the Smṛti digests dating even from the 11th-12th centuries, while others are of unknown age or of a later period.

We have in this booklet a comprehensive treatment of the festivities observed in Bengal. Accounts of a number of them so far available are scattered in different journals, not unoften inaccessible. The monograph will be welcome to all who are interested in the religious and cultural life of the people. It will be superfluous to emphasise the necessity of compiling similar accounts of festivities from other parts of the country which will facilitate the preparation of a consolidated work for the whole of India.

HIUEN TSANG (in Bengali), by Satyendra Kumar Basu, published by the Viśvabhāratī Granthālaya, 2 Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta ; pp. 147 + several illustrations and two maps.

This monograph on Hiuen Tsang by Śrī Satyendra Kumar Basu is neither a running translation of the pilgrim's *Records*, nor a summary of the same. In Bengali the former class is already represented by a volume in the late Jogendra Nath Samaddar's *Samasāmayika Bhārata* series, while a good summary of the pilgrim's itinerary occurs in the *Prācīna Bhārata* by the late Ramaprana Gupta. The present monograph, however, differs from these two in being an account of both the life and travels, from and to China, of Hiuen Tsang in several chapters arranged, more or less, chronologically and admitting of an intermingling with the author's own observations.

The result is that for a popular reading it shall have a good appeal. The author himself also has no pretension as to his treatise being purported for the advanced students of Indology.

The chapters successively are : The beginning of the sojourn from China towards India ; Hāmi-Turfan-Kucā ; Tientsan-Samarkhand-Tukhāra ; a general description of India ; Gāndhāra-Udyāna-Taxila ; from Kāśmīr to Kanauj ; Ayodhyā-Prayāga-Kauśāmbī ; Buddhist sacred land ; Nālandā ; Bengal and Kāmarūpa ; the Deccan ; at Nālanda again ; Harṣavardhana ; return journey ; in his native land and the remainder of the pilgrim's life.

Notes, both in the body and at foot of the text, have, save in several cases, added to the merit of the monograph. But the author's observations are interspersed in the paragraphs in a way as rendering it difficult for a general reader, in many places, to distinguish them from the pilgrim's statements. The author, however, tells his story in a pleasing language.

Printing and illustrations are happy.

N. N. DAS GUPTA

## Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Journal of the Oriental Institute M. S. University Baroda, vol. 1, no. 4

NILMADHAV SEN.—*Syntax of Tenses in the Rāmāyaṇa*

ADRIŚ BANERJĪ.—*Origins of Jain Practices*. Several literary and archaeological data have been cited to establish the existence of pre-Vedic elements in Jainism in respect of the institutions and practices like *Śramaṇism*, the practice of *yoga* and the cult of nudity.

M. GOVIND PAI.—*Date of Buddha's Parinirvāṇa*. Aśoka's Minor Rock Edict I in which the number 256 occurs as indicative of the bygone years of Buddha's decease is known to have been set up between 248 and 240 B.C. So, it follows that the *parinirvāṇa* took place at a time between 504 and 496 B.C. Evidence coming from some Burmese sources shows that Buddha passed away on Wednesday the full-moon day of Vaiśākha, under the constellation Viśākhā. A coincidence of the month, day and constellation mentioned in these sources is found on the 15th April of 501 B.C.

P. C. DIVANJI —*Karmayoga Tradition*. The tradition of the origin and transmission of the *Karmayoga* doctrine amongst the Kṣatriyas as referred to in the *Bhagavadgītā* has the corroboration from Purāṇic and Vedic literature. The tradition had become interrupted sometimes before 1500 B.C. So, some Kṣatriya princess had to take instructions from Brāhmaṇa sages in later days.

J. T. PARIKH.—*Orthodox Tradition about the Origin of the Sanskrit Drama*. Here is given in detail the story in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* about the origin of dramatic performance. At the request of the gods, Brahmā created the drama consisting of dialogues, songs, actions and display of feelings. Subsequently, he had to order the construction of a *Nāṭya-grha*. Mimicry formed the first stage of the performance, and then dancing was introduced in it. The *Amṛtamanthana* and *Tripuradāha* were the two dramas first staged.



J. J. PANDYA.—*Kālidāsa's Indebtedness to Vālmīki*.

B. SUBBA RAO.—*Age of Kālidāsa*. The condition of the society in Kālidāsa's time as evidenced in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* has been discussed under the following heads: Dramas and the Stage. Horticulture, Architecture, Sculpture, Amusement, Customs and Manners.

U. P. SHAH.—*Sidelights on the Life-time Sandalwood Image of Mahāvīra*. A sandalwood image of Mahāvīra traditionally believed to have been carved in his life-time is worshipped as *Jivanta* or *Jivitasvāmī*. The conception of the *Jivantasvāmī* is conjectured to have 'a bearing on the evolution of the concept of a Bodhisattva or a Buddha image.'

**Journal of Oriental Research, vol. XIX, pt. III.**

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN.—*Historic India and her Temples*. Temples of India, both rock-cut and structural, are manifestations of the great religious urge of the people. Some of them—small monuments and big edifices—built by Hindus, Jains and Buddhists have been briefly described and their significance discussed in this paper.

—.—*Indian Bronzes*. Some of the bronze statuettes and images belonging to the different periods of Indian history and representing different cults of the land form the subject-matter of the discussion here.

K. R. VENKATARAMAN AND K. R. SRINIVASAN.—*The Udayendiram Plates of Nandivarman II*. A new study of the place-names occurring in the inscription.

Y. MAHALINGA SASTRI.—*Murāri as a Poet*. This is an appreciation of the poetic skill of the author of the drama *Anargharāghava*.

SACHCHIDANANDA BHATTACHARYA.—*Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies and Narayani Handique Research Institute at Gauhati, Assam*.

ADRIS BANERJI.—*Game Preserves in Ancient India*. Certain forest areas in Sarnath, Rajgir, Ṛḍhrakūṭa and Kōśala are cited to have been declared game preserves where the killing of animals and birds were prohibited in ancient times.

V. RAGHAVAN.—*Chronological Notes: Kaiyaṭa and Dhanañjaya*. A quotation by Ruyyaka from Kaiyaṭa helps the writer to assign

1150 A.C. as the tower limit to Kaiyaṭa's date. As Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* refers to the *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya* of Dhananjaya the latter cannot be later than the middle of the 11th century.

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- ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.—*The Technique and Theory of Indian Painting*. The encyclopædic work *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi* compiled by Someśvara in the 12th century includes a section on painting. The relevant Sanskrit text in 55 ślokaś has been reproduced here with English Translation and elaborate Notes.
- V. S. AGRAWALA.—*Catalogue of the Mathura Museum*. The antiquarian objects described in the paper are I. Jaina Tirthaṃkara Images: (a) Dated Images of the Kuṣāṇa Period. (b) Undated Kuṣāṇa Images, inscribed and uninscribed. (c) Tirthaṃkara Images of the Gupta Period. (d) Tirthaṃkara Images of the Medieval Period. (e) Miscellaneous Jaina Images. (f) Ayāga-paṭas. II. Kuṣāṇa Royal Statues. III. Miscellaneous Images. IV. Female figures. V. Miscellaneous fragmentary figures. VI. Bas-Reliefs: (a) Scenes of Buddha's Life. (b) Decorative Bas-reliefs.
- VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA.—*Some Foreign Words in Ancient Sanskrit Literature*. A number of words preserved in the Sanskrit language can be explained in the light of the related foreign words, providing thereby evidence of cultural relationship between ancient India and abroad. The following words occurring in Vedic and post-Vedic literature have been discussed in the paper with reference to their sources: taimata, āligi-vilagi, urugūlā, helayaḥ-helayaḥ, jārūka (= ziggurūt), kārṣāpaṇa, jābāla, haibihila, kanthā, stavara, piṅgā.
- ADRIŚ BANERJĪ.—*Traces of Jainism in Bengal*. Besides literary references to the Jaina activities in the Prācyadeśa, epigraphic records, archaeological ruins and fragmentary images found in Bengal or in its neighbourhood demonstrate the great influence Jainism exercised over Eastern India in ancient times.
- PARMESHVARĪ LAL GUPTA.—*The Yaudheyas*. Coins of different types and different times, belonging to the Yaudheya Republic have been found in a vast area extending between the Śatadru and

the Yamunā. The Yaudheyas appear to have migrated from time to time from one place to another in the extensive regions of the eastern Panjab.

LALIT MOHAN GARG.—*Navadevakula*. The historical importance of the ancient site of Navadevakula (Newal) in the Una district of U. P. is pointed out.

V. S. AGRAWALA.—*Kālidāsa and Sanskrit Buddhism*. Ideas, imagery, expressions and literary motifs contained in the contemporary literature of Sanskrit Buddhism are also found in the works of Kālidāsa.

—.—*A New Gupta Temple at Dara in Malwa*.

KRISHNA DEVA AND V. S. AGRAWALA.—*The Stone Temple at Nalanda*.

S. C. UPADHYAYA.—*A Fourteenth Century Brass Image of Rājñī, a consort of Sūrya*.

M. R. MAJMUDAR.—*Treatment of Goddesses in Jaina and Brāhmaṇical Pictorial Art*.

RAM KUMAR DIKSHIT.—*Land-grants of the Chandella Kings*.

**Poona Orientalist, vol. XV, nos. 1-4**

TAPONATH CHAKRAVARTI.—*Some Flora mentioned in the Early Medical Literature of Bengal and some popular Taboos about the use of certain Fruits and Vegetables*. The account of several plants recorded here is mainly based on information given in a medical treatise called *Cakradattasamgraha* or *Cikitsāsamgraha* compiled by Cakrapāṇidatta, a physician author of Bengal in the 12th century.

NARENDRA NATH CHAUDHURI.—*Mother Goddess Durgā*.

P. K. GODE.—*Pākārṇava, an Anonymous Medical Work and its Date—between A.D. 1650 and 1800*.

H. L. HARIYAPPA.—*Vedic Legends: A Critical Review*. Legends often intended to serve didactic purposes are also important for social and religious history. They inculcate ideas that are good for the well-being of the society and they also reflect ethical weakness that is found inherent in mankind.

SADASHIVA L. KATRE.—*An Earlier Terminus ad quem for the Date of Nandapaṇḍita's Śrāddha-kalpalatā—samvat 1641 = 1585 A.C.*

- K. KRISHNAMOORTHY.—*The Conception of Personality in the Caraka-saṃhitā and the Concept of Prajñāparādha*. Caraka in his famous medical treatise has prescribed modes of conduct for an ideal citizen. He has recognised *Prajñāparādha* (abuse of intellect) to be the cause of many a human ills.
- P. N. PUSHP.—*Kashmir's Contribution to Sanskrit Poetry*. A galaxy of great poets had adorned the land of Kashmir many of whose works are no more in existence. But what has survived is not inconsiderable.
- U. VENKATAKRISHNA RAO.—*Bhāṣā's Rāma-dramas*.
- M. YAMUNACHARYA.—*The Human Personality and its Destiny according to Viśiṣṭādvaita*.
- SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYA.—*A Passage in the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇopaniṣad* (1. 2-6). The extract containing the knotty passage of the Upaniṣad has been fully explained.
- K. BISWAS.—*Note on the Cactus Plants of India*.
- .—*विद्यारण्यकथातरङ्गिणी*. The life and work of Vidyāranya (Mādhava) is depicted in Sanskrit verses divided into 14 sections.

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## Ancient Indian Geography

The subject of ancient Indian geography is richly documented in the Sanskrit, Pāli and Prakrit literatures as well as the writings of the Greek, Chinese and Arab geographers. The information relating to the several aspects of geographical science like physical, political and commercial geography is indeed so vast that the subject merits a research dissertation planned on special lines. The original sources are in many languages, Sanskrit, Pāli, Prakrit, Greek, Latin, Chinese, Arabic, Persian, ancient Pahlavi, Avesta and the Indian regional languages. By patient gleaning of scattered information from innumerable sources and piecing the results together, it may be expected that a rich picture of Indian geographical knowledge would become available. A hundred years of Indian historical studies have remained without a proportionate advance in the knowledge of ancient Indian geography.

It is worth while to record here in a clarified manner the sources on this subject from the earliest times:

1. Vedic geography as depicted in the four Vedic Saṁhitās, especially the *R̥gveda*, which acquaints us with the geography of north-western India about the beginning of the second millenium B.C. References to Gaṅgā, Sindhu, Sarasvatī and the rivers of the Punjab, especially to the Suṣomā or Sohan, a tributary of the Indus, to Marud-vṛdhā, modern Maruvardhan flowing through Kashtawar in Kashmir, and to Suvāstu, modern Swat, are important landmarks of Vedic geography. Equally interesting is the mention of such names as Kamboja (ancient Pamir). Bālhika (Balkh or Bactria), Mūjavanta (modern Munjan lying to the south of Oxus) and Gandhāra. These names tie down the Vedic hymns to a specific part of the country and

give them a reality as nothing else does, for the geographical tradition in the form of place-names is most tenacious and almost indestructible. Such names as Kubhā (Kabul), Gomatī (Gomal), Krumu (Kurram), Yavyāvātī (Jhob), Bhalana (Bolan), Pakthana (Pakhtoon), Trikakut (Sulaiman mountain which was the source of the famous salve known both in ancient and modern times),—are also unmistakable landmarks of Vedic geography, pointing to the area of extension of those peoples. The later Vedic literature including the secondary Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣadas, Sūtras and Prātiśākhya, is also rich in place-names and some of the important routes like the one from Gandhāra to Kuru-Pāñcāla are mentioned there. *Le géographie et ethnographique Védique* by Saint Martin was an excellent pioneer work, but an exhaustive study of Vedic geography as the firm basis of early Indian historical studies is needed.

2. Epics: *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* the route of Rāma's exile and of Vaśiṣṭha's messengers to Bharata in the Kekaya country (Salt range) require clarification. Prof. Pargiter devoted a special article to the geography of Rāma's exile, but the subject merits a fresh approach. The routes of the monkey army sent in quest of Sītā in the four directions, although preserving an important geographical document, seem to be a later addition made some time in the Gupta period when Indonesian geography of Yavadvīpa (Java) and Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumatra) became a vital reality for Indian navigators.

The *Mahābhārata* is the richest single source of ancient geography preserved in Sanskrit and old literature. Its most important chapters are those relating to Bhuvanakoṣa (Bhīṣmaparva, ch. 9), Tīrthayātrā (Vanaparva, chs. 80-88 and 89-153 describing the pilgrimage of Dhaumya and of Yudhiṣṭhira respectively, being a shorter and a longer version of a religious itinerary round the country), Pāṇḍava-digvijaya or conquest of the four regions, and the Upāyana-parva (Sabhāparva, chs. 25-32 and chs. 51-52), which incidentally provides a unique record of ancient economic geography with respect to the manufactured articles peculiar to each country. Apart from this material the *Mahābhārata* is a vast encyclopedia of geographical information of inestimable value. The epic information (Bhīṣmaparva, ch. 11) about the original homeland of the Śakas (Scythians) and

Ṛṣikas (Yue-chi) in Central Asia including a number of old place-name is almost as important as that given by Herodotus and is of a kindred nature, pointing to its compilation some time about the fifth century B.C. when the Śakas still occupied the highlands of the Oxus and Central Asia.

3. Purāṇas. The mass of literature under this name treats the Bhuvanakoṣa or traditional account of ancient geography, *Tīrthas* or culture centres which were marked out during the course of Aryan colonisation of the country as sacred spots or focal points of diffusion and congregation; *Sthala-māhātmyas* (specific descriptions of local topography in much greater detail), and hundreds of special topics bearing on Indian geography. The time range of Purāṇic compilation extends over about two thousand years and this literature undoubtedly preserves a unique record of the slow and steady process of land-settlement or "land taking," a cultural process of the highest sanctity by which the original ancestors planted themselves on land as 'children of the soil' and became welded and fused from epoch to epoch in an indivisible nationhood. The Purāṇas present the only record of the cultural unity that India achieved through the ages of which each stage was unfolded against a definite geographical background in the extensive river valleys, plains, mountains and forests of India. Pargiter's edition of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa testifies to the richness of Purāṇic geography, of which the vast material still remains unworked. Dr. B. C. Law and Dr. D. C. Sircar have also made considerable contributions to the clarification of the Bhuvanakoṣa portions relating to the countries, mountains and rivers of India.

4. Paṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and grammatical literature. Pāṇini in his *sūtras* presents a rich picture of Indian geography discussed in my paper on "Geographical Data in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (*Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, vol. XVI, pt. I, pp. 11-57). The material in the *Gaṇapāṭha* consists of important lists of place-names and tribal names comprising about a thousand items. This material is only matched in importance and richness of recording by the information in the writings of the classical geographers of India. A comparative study of the two sources is likely to yield important results for the geography of the formative period of Indian history (B. C. 500-first century A.D.) The *Mabābhāṣya* of Patañjali and the *Kāśikā*



have preserved in their own way a mass of evidence unknown from any other source.

5. Buddhist literature. Geographical evidence in the Pāli Tṛpiṭaka and its commentaries is available in the admirable *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* by Dr. Malalasekera. More important are the routes of Buddha's itinerary and those of his disciples both through north India and Gandhāra. We may also mention under the topic of Buddhist sources the Sanskrit texts of Buddhism compiled mostly between the first and the fifth century A.D., which although belonging to an altogether different epoch furnish highly important material relating to international routes connecting India with the adjacent countries and also Greater India. Prof. Paul Pelliot contributed an article of almost classical importance for the geography of Further India entitled 'Two Itineraries between China and India' (*BEFEO*, 1904, pp. 218ff.). Mons. Przyluski has contributed a detailed account of North-West India according to the Vinaya of Mūla-Sarvāstivādins and connected texts (*Journal Asiatique*, 1914, pp. 493-568). Dr. Sylvain Levi also made brilliant contributions to the geography of the Indian Archipelago (*Journal Asiatique*, 1921, pp. 332ff.) and to the geographical material of the *Bṛhatkathā* and the *Mahāniddesa*. His monograph on the geographical contents of the *Mahāmāyūrī* (*JA.*, 1915) is a model of critical investigation of sources often discarded as valueless. It was presented by me in an English rendering for Indian readers (*Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, vol. XV, pt. II, pp. 24-52). Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Coedes (The Kingdom of Śrīvijaya, *BEFEO*, XVIII, 6, pp. 19ff), Pelliot and Moens have written important papers based on Sanskrit and Chinese Buddhist sources of Indian geography.

6. Chinese Tripiṭakas. The vast body of this literature comprising about 2000 texts rendered into Chinese is still a sealed book, but many secular texts including some on Indian geography are preserved there. The *Fan-Fan-Yu* a geographical dictionary with Sanskrit and Chinese names in parallel columns published by D. Raghuvara is an instance of what may be expected. Even maps of old land-routes between India and China are preserved in the Chinese Tripiṭakas, as Dr. Bagchi kindly showed to me once.

7. Tibetan Buddhism. A large number of Sanskrit texts are

preserved in Tibetan translations of the *Tanjur* and *Kanjur* collections, and Indian geography like other aspects of Indian culture is sure to benefit from an examination of these works.

8. Chinese travellers. Fa-hien, Yuan-Chwang, I-Tsing, Sung-Yun are classical names whose accounts of travels between China and India are priceless treasures as sources of Indian history and culture, and none the less of geography. The overland route from India to China through Afghanistan and Central Asia as may be mapped in the footsteps of the pilgrim Yuan-Chwang is a marvel of human effort in forging international contacts under conditions of the utmost difficulty and risk. Beal, Watters and last of all Arther Walley in his latest book '*The Real Tripitaka and other Pieces*' which is a report on the travel of the Master of the Law, Dharmācārya Mokṣacārya Yuan-Chwang compiled from several sources, have made capital contributions to Indian geographical study through concentrated work on the Yuan-Chwang Saga. The importance of this Chinese source besides its accurate observation and truthful recording lies in the fact that its date is known with certainty as in the first half of the seventh century A.D. It provides corroborative evidence to Sanskrit sources of about the same period, e.g. the geographical chapters in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* of Varāhamihira.

9. Classical Geographers of India, who accompanied Alexander and followed in his train for a period of more than five centuries have left a vast body of literature, a class by itself, which is one of the richest sources of Indian economic, commercial and political geography. Ptolemy and Periplus treat of Indian geography frankly as a science, presenting a systematic treatment of high value. Jerini in his researches on Ptolemy's geography of eastern Asia and Prof. Renou in his new edition of Ptolemy's geography, and Schoff in his *Periplus* have done great service to Indian geographical studies. But the pioneer contribution of a monumental nature still unsurpassed, we owe to the labours of Prof. McCrindle whose six volumes of the classical sources of Indian geography are a valuable mine of knowledge about India.

10. Old Iranian sources. The inscriptions of Darius the Great, the Avesta and the Pahlavi texts and inscriptions also contribute an important chapter to the ancient geography of India, especially that

relating to the North-West. Shri J. J. Modi has thrown welcome light on these sources in his writings.

11. Jain sources. The Jain canonical texts or the Aṅga literature with its commentaries, the subsequent Jain writings and the Apabhraṁśa literature together with the Prabandhas or historical essays which were a special literary feature of the medieval Jain authors, all these constitute a very important source of Indian geography. The material lies practically unworked upto now. There is also some literature on Tīrtha-yātras to the sacred places of the Jainas both in north and south India, of which none has been properly published. Similarly the Dūta-kāvyas following the model of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* treat of certain routes along which the messengers are supposed to travel across the length and breadth of the country. About seventy of these Saṁdeśa poems are known, of which the geographical study would repay the labours of any scholar. The colophons of Jain manuscripts both of Sanskrit, Prākṛit and Apabhraṁśa are also replete with geographical information, as even a casual perusal of the *Jain-Pustaka-Prasasti-Saṅgraha* by Muni Jina Vijaya will show.

12. Sanskrit literature. The works of Kālidāsa, Bāṇa, Rājaśekhara, Varāhamihira, Kalhaṇa and a host of other important authors furnish geographical material of the first-rate value. The fourth and the thirteenth cantos of *Raghuvamśa* may be regarded as one of the most important chapters of ancient Indian geography, keeping in view a survey of the entire sub-continent and its adjacent countries in the Gupta age. Varāhamihira (6th century A.D.) deals in detail with the divisions of the country (*Brhatsaṁhitā*, chs. 14 and 16) noting about 300 names most of which are of certain value and known from contemporaneous sources and inscriptions. Dr. Fleet contributed a paper on this material in the *Indian Antiquary*. Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvya-Mīmāṁsā* enumerates about 125 names of countries, rivers and mountains, and adds that for further information the reader should consult his bigger work, the *Bhuvanakośa*, of which unfortunately the text has not yet come to light. The author bases his accounts on the five principal divisions of India that were also known to Yuan-Chwang and other early writers, viz. Madhyadeśa, Pūrvadeśa, Dakṣiṇāpatha, Pāścimadeśa and Uttarāpatha. Rājaśekhara also mentions the economic products of each region and directs that a poet

should make himself familiar with these details about peoples and places in order to escape errors in his description.

Some of the Sanskrit lexicons of medieval times also note geographical details that have some corroborative value. It is surprising to find both the *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi* and the *Vaijayanti* explaining some obscure place-names of Pāṇinian geography, e.g. Pratyagratha (= Ahicchatrā), Bhaurika (= Samātaṭa). The Āgamas and the Tantra works also contribute in their own way strings of geographical names in connection with the holy spots relating to several gods and goddesses. Dr. D. C. Sircar in his latest monograph on the 108 Śaktipīṭhas or centres of Śakti-worship has instituted a comparative and critical inquiry into their identification throwing a flood of light on old Indian geography. (*JRASB.*, 1948, pp. 1-108).

13. *Arab geographers*, ninth to the fourteenth century A.D. Arab geographers wrote extensively about India and of commerce between India and her neighbours on the west and the east. Their outlook was critical and scientific, dealing with the principal trade-routes, making inquiries about various places and their distances, and also collecting a great deal of original information about political and cultural conditions. During the tenth century we observe the development of a literary geographical school in Arabia which was to exert a lasting influence on succeeding generations of writers. Much of the commercial success of Arab traders depended on the critical geographical inquiries fostered under the geographer scientists of Arabia of the tenth century. Istakhri (950 A.D.), Ibn Haukal (975 A.D.), Al-Berūnī (973-1048 A.D.), Idrīsī (1154 A.D.), Damishqī (1325 A.D.) and Ibn-Batūtā (1355 A.D.) have made important contributions to the knowledge of Indian geography, especially to that of South India. Dr. G. Ferrand in two big volumes relating to the accounts of the voyages and the geographical texts by Arab authors on India and the Far East has rendered great service to the cause of Indian geographical studies, followed in this work by Dr. Muhammad Husayun Nainar of the Madras University in his book *Arab Geographers' Knowledge of Southern India* (1942).

14. *Inscriptions*. Perhaps the richest and the most authoritative source of Indian geography is contained in the many thousands of

Indian Inscriptions ranging in date from the Mauryan period to the eighteenth century. A complete concordance of all the geographical names with details about them on the basis of the thousands and thousands of published inscriptions from all over India would constitute the eternal bed-rock of ancient Indian geography. It would be considered an achievement if accomplished by any Research Institute or University in India or abroad. Such a work was planned by the Kern Institute of Leyden but given up owing to the war. The inscriptions contain the names of the divisions of the country at various periods as they formed political units under particular dynasties and kings. This information is valuable for tracing the evolution of Indian political geography. Besides giving the names of countries, the inscriptions are also rich in other classes of geographical names e.g. mountains, rivers forming boundaries of kingdoms, capital cities, military encampments, trading emporia, and above all smaller administrative divisions. The land-grants form a class by themselves as mentioning the names of villages granted by the rulers to the donees. Such villages and even the names of hamlets are usually accompanied with information about their boundaries which separate them from other units. Sometimes single fields or pieces of land are mentioned together with their boundaries in sale-deeds which were executed by the secretariat officers in favour of the purchasers. All this acquaints us with the geographical material spread over the entire country in a surprisingly rich manner.

The above material is spread mainly over scores of research journals in which the inscriptions have been edited, e.g. *Epigraphia Indica*, *Indian Antiquary*, *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, and the *Reports of the Archaeological Survey* as well as *Reports on South Indian Epigraphy*, and the several volumes of the *Corpus of Indian Inscriptions* published under the Archaeological Survey. Fortunately most of these publications are equipped with detailed indexes of proper names and the work of preparing a geographical dictionary from this source will rather be found to be of less difficulty. It should, however, be remembered that a study of geography consists not merely in the indexing of names, howsoever important that may be, but in interpreting that material as a science contributing towards

the elucidation of the political, physical, commercial, economic and ethnographical history of the land. Geography is the true bed-rock of historical knowledge and it is an undeniable fact that the study of Indian history will remain incomplete without a corresponding effort to tackle the problem of its geography.

Many authors and scholars have written on the subject of Indian geography both in the form of books, special studies and articles. A complete bibliography of the original sources and texts bearing on the subject, a list of all the geographical articles published in the journals and of textual studies must precede a comprehensive and planned study of Indian geography as envisaged above.

The information should be written down on separate cards, one for each entry. This card-index would be the first preliminary step leading to the completion of a period-wise geographical survey followed by volumes of Dictionary proper.

The scheme of an Indian Geographical Dictionary may be set forth as follows:

*Volume 1.*

- (a) Introduction.
- (b) Physical geography with complete descriptions of the mountains (Varṣa-parvata and Kula-parvata), river systems, deserts, plains, and the principal land and sea-routes, as well as seasons, plants, and animals.
- (c) Period-wise survey of Indian geography from the point of view of its evolution :
  - (i) Pre-historic geography and earliest land-settlement.
  - (ii) Vedic and the later Vedic period.
  - (iii) Epic and the Mahājanapada periods.
  - (iv) Nanda empire to the Śuṅga empire.
  - (v) North Indian geography from the first to the seventh century A.D..
  - (vi) South Indian geography from the Āndhra to the Pallava period.
  - (vii) Geography of Greater India and its routes :
    - (a) India, Inner-most Asia, Afghanistan, the Oxus region, Chinese Turkestan, and the land-route to China.

- (b) Sea-routes, Burma, Siam, French Indo-China, Malaya, Java, Sumatra, Bali, Ceylon etc.
- (c) India and the Western countries—Persia, Arabia, Syrian empire, Egypt, Africa, Greece, and the Roman empire.
- (viii) Geography of the early medieval period (8th-9th century).
- (ix) Geography of the late medieval period (10th-12th century).
- (x) Geography of the Sultanate period.
- (xi) Geography of the Mughal period.

*Volumes II, III, IV and V.*

Alphabetical Dictionary of Ancient Indian Geography.

V. S. AGRAWALA

## Was Jalāl-ud-Dīn the Patron of Rāyamukūṭa Br̥haspati ?

Who was the patron of Rāyamukūṭa cannot be decided unless his date is definitely fixed. This question was first tackled by H. T. Colebrooke in 1807 A.D., when he examined Rāyamukūṭa's commentary (*Pada-candrikā*) on the *Amara-koṣa* and ascertained its age "from the incidental mention of a date, viz., 1352 Śaka, 4532 of the Kaliyuga, corresponding to A.D. 1431."<sup>1</sup> After him this date was accepted without any doubt, till Mr. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya questioned the appropriateness of relying on such an incidental reference<sup>2</sup>.

First, Mr. Bhattacharya points out that the *Pada-candrikā* "was written at a very advanced age of the author", and decidedly later than the author's *Smṛti-ratnahāra*. In this latter work, Rāyamukūṭa frequently quotes from the *Śrāddha-viveka* of Śūlapāṇi, and hence the date of Rāyamukūṭa must be posterior to that of Śūlapāṇi. According to Mr. Bhattacharya, the *Śrāddhaviveka* was composed in 1420 30 A.D., and therefore he fixes the date of the *Smṛti-ratnahāra* as "circa 1440 A.D., and not certainly before 1430 A.D.", and further asserts, "If the date of the *Smṛti-ratnahāra* is fixed at c. 1440 A.D., the *Pada-candrikā* will have to be placed three decades later in about 1470 A.D. The presumption that the book was composed in 1431 A.D. from an incidental mention of that date in the body of the book appears thus to be wholly wrong."

The whole argument of Mr. Bhattacharya is based on the date of Śūlapāṇi, who, according to him, was an earlier contemporary of Vācaspati Miśra. The latter wrote in the reign of the Maithila kings Bhairavasiṃhadeva and his son Rāmabhadradeva<sup>3</sup>. Bhairava's elder brother, Dhīrasiṃha, is also mentioned in Vācaspati Miśra's *Vyavahāra-cintāmaṇi*<sup>4</sup>. One fixed point in the reign of Dhīrasiṃha

<sup>1</sup> *Koṣa* by Umura Singh, ed. by H. T. Colebrooke, 1807, Preface, p. VII.

<sup>2</sup> *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. XVII, 1941, pp. 456-71.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1915, p. 399.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 424.



15 1438 A.D.<sup>3</sup> This is the only certain date on which we can base our arguments for ascertaining the approximate time of Śūlapāṇi and Vācaspati Miśra. We can, at best, conclude that Śūlapāṇi must have flourished in the first half of the fifteenth century A.D. and nothing more. The *Śrāddha-vivēka*, being one of his earliest works, may fall in the first quarter of this century. It would be wrong on our part to fix a definite date for this work, as Mr. Bhattacharya has tried to do. We would, therefore, not doubt the possibility of this work being quoted by Rāyamukūṭa, who flourished in the first half of the 15th century A.D. On this supposition there is no bar to the *Smṛti-ratnabhāra* being composed before 1430 A.D. and the *Padacandrikā* near about 1431 A.D.

Secondly, Mr. Bhattacharya supports his argument for a later date of the *Padacandrikā* on the basis of two complete manuscripts preserved in the V. R. Museum, Rajshahi. The Mss. no. 650 has the following colophon:—

इति महिन्तापनीयकविचक्रवर्तिराजपरिण्डतपरिण्डतसार्वभौमपरिण्डतचूडामणिमहाचार्य-  
रायमुकुटश्रीमद्रूपतृप्तकृतायाममरकोषपञ्जिकायां पदचन्द्रिकायां लिङ्गादिसंग्रहवर्गः समाप्तः ।  
समाप्ता चेयममरकोषपञ्जिकेति ॥ श्री १३६६ भगवते नमः ।

The date 1396, obviously Śaka, 1474 A.D., is taken to be that of the actual completion of the work. But, as the date, occurring only in figures at the end in a way having no relation to the earlier sentence, suggests that it might have been inserted by the copyists. However, this date is supported by another Mss., no. 1985, which has lost a few verses in the beginning, but the copyist wrongly puts page no. 1 on the existing first page. It ends as follows:—

सेनानीवदनग्रहाम्रिविधुभिः शाके मिते हायने  
शुके मास्यसिते दिनाधिपतिथी सौरेहि मध्यन्दिने ।  
सद्यः संशयसञ्जयापचयकृद्व्याख्याविशेषोज्ज्वला  
पर्याप्ता पदचन्द्रिकाभवदियं संरक्षणीया बुधैः ॥  
यावच्चुम्बति बिम्बमम्बरमणोः प्राच्यप्रतीच्याचला  
यावन्मण्डलमैन्दवं द्युतितमस्कारडं जगन्मण्डनं ।  
यावज्जह्नु सुताम्बुधेरनुभवत्यारलेपलीलासुखं  
तावन्मे कृतिरातनोतु कृतिनामानन्दवृन्दो(द)यं ॥

यावच्चन्द्ररुचिश्चकोरनिचयैश्चञ्चूभिराचम्यते  
यावच्चण्डरुचो रुचः परिचयाच्छुक्रः शुचं मुञ्चति ।  
यावच्चुम्बति साचलाब्धिरचला चक्री(श) चूडामियं  
तावचारुविचारणाभिरचिता टीका चक्रास्तूचकैः ॥ श्रीः  
समाप्ता चेयममरकोषपञ्जिकेति । शुभमस्तु शकाब्दाः १६०१ ॥

Here the date of the copy is given as 1601 Śaka, and in the first line we have another date which comes out to be 1396 Śaka. This latter date is taken to be that of the composition of the work. But, we should remember that these ending verses occur after the actual colophon: *iti Mahintāpanīya... Amara-koṣa-pañjikeṭi*,—a fact which has been omitted by Mr. Bhattacharya. It seems reasonable to distinguish between the ending verses and the actual colophon. The whole tenor of the ending verses implies a desire for protection probably of the manuscript rather than that of the actual work, while the colophon, though recording the completion of the work by the author, does not give any date but only the titles of the author. If the date of the completion of the work is 1396 Śaka, it is strange why it is not said so in the actual colophon. Nowhere else do we find that the author gives the date of the composition in verses after the colophon as is given here in a way that savours of the copyists' mind. Therefore, this date cannot be taken to be that of the work. It is reasonable to suppose that it refers to an earlier copy of the manuscript.

Thirdly, Mr. Bhattacharya tries to explain away the mention of 1353 Śaka in his own way. He writes, "The date, we believe, is the record of an important event witnessed by the author (e.g. the death of Sultan Jalāluddīn) or it might have been borrowed from an earlier commentator without acknowledgment." But no commentator has been named, from whom Rāyamukūṭa could borrow this date. On the other hand, it is well-known that Nayanānanda<sup>6</sup>, the author of *Amarakoṣa-kaumudī*, borrowed this date from him. As regards the other suggestion, the probability is increased if we can establish any connection between Jalāl-ud-Dīn and Rāyamukūṭa (see *infra*). Before discussing this point, it is better to examine the passage containing the date. The author in the section of Time and Yuga writes:—

6 Egghing, *India Office Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss.*, vol. 1, pt. II, p. 278, No. 982.

इदानीं च शकाब्दाः १३५३ द्वात्रिंशदब्दाधिकपञ्चवर्षोत्तरचतुःसहस्रवर्षाणि कलिसंध्याया भूतानि ४५३२ । तथा च गणितचूडामणौ महिन्तापनीयराजपरिडितश्रीनिवासः कलिसंध्यायाः खसमयकरकृतवर्षाणि भूतानि ४२६० ॥<sup>7</sup>

These words are a verbatim copy, excepting the date, from the *Ṭikā-sarvasva* of Sarvānanda, which reads: —

इदानीं चैकाशीति-वर्षाधिक-सहस्र-क-पर्यन्तेन शकाब्दकालेन षष्टिवर्षाधिक-द्विचत्वारिंश-च्छतानि कलिसंध्याया भूतानि । तथा च गणितचूडामणौ श्रीनिवासः कलिसंध्यायाः खसमयकरकृतवर्षाणि ।

Here the date is 1081 Śaka equal to 4260 of the Kali era = 1160 A.D. The same passage occurs in the *Padārtha-kaumudī* of Nārāyaṇa Cakravartī, son of Rāma: —

इदानीं शकाब्दाः १५४० । ऊनविंशत्यधिकसप्तचत्वारिंशच्छतानि वर्षाणि कलिसंध्याया भूतानि ४७१६ । तथा गणितचूडामणौ श्रीनिवासः खसमयकर-कृतवर्षाणि भूतानि ४२६० ॥<sup>8</sup>

It is clear from the above citations that the original passage occurs in the work of Sarvānanda and later authors merely quoted from him; but the change of date in all of them is really remarkable. It can only mean that these different dates refer to the time in the life of the authors themselves. But, in the case of Sarvānanda, Mr. Bhattacharya believes that as the author is quoting from Śrī Nivāsa, this date must refer to the latter, and accordingly he is inclined to date the *Ṭikā-sarvasva* “within a decade or two after A.D. 1160.” This conclusion, however, cannot be accepted, as all these authors quote Śrī Nivāsa and his date (i.e. 4260) as an authority on *Kāla*, but at the same time give different dates, viz., 4260, 4532 and 4719 in the earlier sentence,—the times near about which they are known to have flourished from other sources. Moreover, the late Mr. S. C. Banerji has already shown that, “the passage, as it stands, does not allow us to take *idānīm* ..... *bbūtāni*, with *Kha-samaya-kara-kṛta-varṣāṇi* by combining the authors’s own statement with that of his authority, as Mr. Bhattacharya has done, for *tathā ca* at the beginning of the second sentence signifies that the quotation following is cited in

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 271, No. 956.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 272, Nos. 958-959.

<sup>9</sup> *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1928, p. 136.

support of a statement previously made. We are ready to accept Mr. Bhattacharya's rendering of *idānīm* . . . . . *bbūtāni*, as 'recently past', but his conclusion based upon it, is wholly untenable. By 'recently past' he understands that a decade or two have passed after A.D. 1160. But, the expression 'recently past' indicates that a few days or a few months have elapsed since the completion of the 4260th of the Kali era, corresponding to 1081 S.E."<sup>10</sup>

The conclusion, therefore, becomes irresistible that the dates refer to the time when these passages were actually being written. It is, however, implied that the actual completion of the *Padacandrikā* might have taken some time more.

This period of the author is happily corroborated by the numerous references to his patron. In his *Kumārasambhava-ṭīkā* called *Subodhā* or *Vyākhyā-Bṛhaspati* he writes :

विद्यासु तासु विनयी ( प्रणयी ) गुणेषु  
गोडाधिपादुपचितप्रचुरप्रतिष्ठः ।  
मोऽहं यथामति बृहस्पतिरातनोमि  
व्याख्याबृहस्पतिमलंकृतिकाव्यलिङ्गम् ॥<sup>11</sup>

This same verse is repeated in his *Raghu-vaṁśa-ṭīkā*, called *Raghu-vaṁśa-viveka* or *Vyākhyā-Bṛhaspati*.<sup>12</sup> In his *Padacandrikā* he makes the following reference :

पुर्यां परिडतसार्वभौमपदवीं गोडावनीपार्थिवाद-  
यः प्राप्तः प्रथितो बृहस्पतिरिति क्षमालोकवाचस्पतिः ।  
कोषस्यामरनिर्मितस्य विविधव्याख्यानदीक्षागुरुः  
सानन्दं पदचन्द्रिकां स कुरुते टीकामिमां कीर्त्तये ॥<sup>13</sup>

In other manuscripts *Gaudāvanī-pārthivāt* is changed to *Gaudāvanī-vāsavāt*.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 900-901.

<sup>11</sup> Eggling, *op. cit.* vol. VII, p. 1420, No. 3765.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1417, No. 3750; R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.* vol. VI, pp. 243-44, No. 2181.

<sup>13</sup> Dacca University Mss. No. 988.

These references to Gaur king clearly prove that Rāyamukūṭa was patronised only by him. But in some of the manuscripts of the *Raghu-vaṁśa-ṭīkā* the colophon runs as follows:

इति महिन्तापनीय-कविचक्रवर्त्ति-राज( राज्य ? )धराचार्य-श्रीमद्बृहस्पतिमिश्रकृते रघुवंश-  
विवेके व्याख्याबृहस्पतौ ममदशः सर्गः ॥<sup>14</sup>

The title, *Rājya-dharācārya*, also occurs in his *Bodhavaṭī* commentary on the *Meghadūta*. It ends with:

इति श्रीमहिन्तापनीय-कविचक्रवर्त्तिराज( राज्य ? ) धराचार्य श्रीबृहस्पतिविरचित मेघ-  
दूतटीका बोधवती समाप्ता ॥<sup>15</sup>

In other works this title is either not given (as in *Kumāra-sambhava-ṭīkā*) or substituted by *Ācārya*, *Miśrācārya*, or *Mahācārya*; e.g. in *Nirṇaya-Br̥haspati* on the *Śiśupāla-vadha* the colophon runs:

इति महिन्तापनीय-कविचक्रवर्त्ति-मिश्राचार्य-श्रीमद्बृहस्पतिमिश्रकृते शिशुपालवध-विवेचने  
निरणयबृहस्पतौ ॥<sup>16</sup>

These titles show that Rāyamukūṭa was a renowned teacher, and one of his students was a *Rājyadhara*. Whether we take this word, *Rājyadhara*, as a proper name or we understand it in its literal sense—"holder of a kingdom"—there is nothing to show in these passages that *Rājyadhara* was ever a patron of Rāyamukūṭa. If *Rājyadhara* is identified with the Gaur king, only then we can say that he lavished his patronage upon the author. If he was some other personage who patronised Rāyamukūṭa, it is strange that the author does not recognise him as such in these works, but on the other hand praises the Gaur king alone. This question of his patronage is definitely settled in the *Raghu-vaṁśa-ṭīkā*, where even after assuming the title of *Rājyadharācārya* in the colophon, Rāyamukūṭa speaks highly of his patron, *Gaṇḍādhipa*.

Who was this Gaur king? The only name of a Gaur Sultān that occurs in the works of Rāyamukūṭa is that of 'Jalāluddīn', i.e. Jalāl-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh, son of Rājā Gaṇeśa, who ruled over Bengal in 1415-1431 A.D. Unfortunately, the verses in

14 R. L. Mitra, *op. cit.*

15 H. P. Sāstri, *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.*, vol. VI, p. 170, No. 225.

16 Eggling, *op. cit.*, p. 1432.

which his name occurs, are much mutilated and have been a subject of controversy between Dr. R. C. Hazra<sup>17</sup> and Mr. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya.<sup>18</sup> The verses are quoted below :

नमो गणपतये ।  
 कमलकुमुदमुद्रातङ्कसङ्कोचिशौचैः  
 नयनललितनीलोक्तासितश्रीविलासः ।  
 सजलजलदरोचिश्चञ्चलाचारुचेलः  
 कन ..... ॥१॥  
 ...स्थपतिकं विष्णुद्राःस्थमर्केन्दुदोषकम् ।  
 जगदन्तःपुरं यस्य तदीशान्तःपुरं स्तुवे ॥२॥  
 जीयादयं स जगदन्तसुतोऽतिवेल-  
 स्तैस्तैर्गुणै ..... ।  
 .....पा-निजभुजद्रविण।ज्जितश्रीः  
 श्रीरायराज्यधरनामपदं प्रपन्नः ॥३॥  
 सैनाधिपत्यमिभसैन्धवतूर्यशङ्ख-  
 च्छत्रावलीललितकाञ्चनरूप्य ..... ।  
 ..... दान बहुभूषणश्च  
 जलालदीननृपतिर्मुदितो गुणार्धैः ॥४॥  
 यो ब्रह्माण्डकनकतुरगस्यन्दनं विश्वचक्रं  
 पृथ्वीं कृष्णाजि(न) सुरतरुन् धेनुशैलोदरंश्च ।  
 .....धिवदवनीदेवतानाममन्दं  
 भिन्दन् दैन्यं सपदि दधते धर्मसूनोरभिख्याम् ॥५॥  
 जन्माप्तं जगदन्ततो गुणनिधेर्मूर्द्धामि(षिक्ता)न्वये  
 दाराः सन्तति.....तिः श्रीभास्कराः सूनवः ।  
 लक्ष्मीरद्भुतदानभोगसुखेभ्यः मन्त्रित्वमुर्व्वभुजा-  
 मित्थं यस्य मनोरथाय कृतिनः किञ्चिन्नकाम्यं स्थितम् ॥६॥  
 आचार्य इत्यभिमतं कविचक्र(वर्ता)  
 .....द्वितीयमध्यगमत्ततो यः  
 स श्रीबृहस्पतिरिमं बहुसंग्रहार्थ-  
 निर्मर्माति निर्मलमतिः स्मृतिरत्नहारम् ॥७॥<sup>19</sup>

The interpretation of these verses will be facilitated, if we are able to predetermine some points:—(i) Who was *Jaga-danta-suta* ?

17 *IHQ.*, vol. XVII, pp. 442-455.

18 *Ibid.*, pp. 456-471; *Ibid.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 75-76. In his later paper on "Rāyamukṭa o tāhār guru-vaṁśa," published in the *Sāhitya-Parishad-Patrikā*, vol. LIV, B.E. 1354, pp. 1-8, no new arguments are given, and hence it has not been referred to here.

19 H. P. Śāstrī, *op. cit.* vol. III, pp. 226-30, No. 2138.

- (ii) What is the significance of the phrase *nija-bhuja-draviṇārjjita-śrīḥ* ? (iii) Who received the munificence mentioned in verse 4 ? (iv) Was Jalāl-ud-Dīn dead when these verses were composed ?

(i) Mr. Bhattacharya points out that the reading in the manuscript is clearly Jagadatta not Jagadanta, and he takes him as the father of Rāya Rājyadhara. But the difference between the conjunct consonants 'tta' and 'nta' of a small verticle is so little that a margin of error can be allowed to the copyists. Besides, the word Jagadatta is also not correct Sanskrit. It should be Jagaddatta. Secondly, it can be conceded that whoever was *Jagadanta-suta*, he received the name (*nāma*) or *pada* (position) of Śrī Rāya-Rājyadhara. On the other hand, Dr. R.C. Hazra corrects *Jagadanta* into *Gajadanta*, significantly remarking that the copyist got confused because of the word *Jagadantaḥ-pura* occurring in the last line of verse 2. But his real intention in correcting the word to *Gajadanta* (equivalent of Gaṇeśa) was probably to show that his son was 'Jallāludīn' of verse 4. In this conjecture he is supported by the facts of history. Hence he takes Rāya Rājyadhara as the title of 'Jallāludīn'. The name of Rāya Rājyadhara as a king or a feudatory chief is not known from other sources.

(ii) The epithet *nija-bhuja-draviṇārjjita-śrīḥ* signifies that the qualifying person must have won *śrī* (glory or wealth) by the strength of his own arms. Therefore, this epithet is historically very important as it answers exactly to the position of Jalāl-ud-Dīn<sup>20</sup>. It will have no importance at all if it is applied to some other person, bearing the name of Rāya Rājyadhara, who is not known from any other source.

(iii) Mr. D. C. Bhattacharya says, "This crucial verse 4 has a lacuna of 8 or 9 syllables in line 2-3 and no ingenuity can correctly fit in the name Brhaspati or its substitute in the gap, introducing it, as Dr. Hazra would do, most abruptly without the remotest relation with verse 7 below; neither can it be replaced here by a pronoun (*tasyai*), as Dr. Hazra seems to suggest. Besides, the appositional phrase 'vaḥ Jallālādīna-nṛpatīḥ' where the word *Jallālādīna nṛpatīḥ*

<sup>20</sup> This point has been thoroughly discussed in my forthcoming work, "*The House of Rājā Gaṇeśa of Bengal*," to be published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal*.

of the last line of verse 4 cannot construe with the word *Jīyāt* of the first line of verse 3, sounds wrong both in grammar and rhetoric. The only natural construction whereby the verse 4 attains 'relevance and cogency of meaning' makes it impossible to identify *Jagadattasuta* with 'Jallālādīna; the verse running (as guessed by us): —

सैनाधिपत्यमिभसैन्धवतूर्यशङ्ख-  
छत्रावली ललितकाञ्चनरूप्य( युक्तं ) ।  
( यस्मै सगौरवम् ) दाद् बहुभूषणञ्च  
जलालदीननृपतिर्मुदितो गुणौघैः ॥”

This ingenuous argument cannot hold good in face of the same material having been repeated by the author in another work, *Padacandrikā*. The verse runs as follows: —

ज्योतिष्मन्मणिपुञ्जमञ्जनरुचं हारं ज्वलत्कुरडले  
रत्नाघच्छुरितादशाङ्गुलिजुषः शोचिष्मतीरुर्मिकाः ।  
यः प्राप्य द्विरदोषवी ( ? वि)ष्टन्नकलामै ( ? नै)रविन्दन्तृपा-  
च्छवेभैस्तुरगैश्च रायमुकुटाभिख्यामभिख्यावतीम् ॥

All these presents were received by Bṛhaspati from the Gaur king as the succeeding verses show. Therefore, when almost the same presents are mentioned in verse 4 of the *Smṛti-ratnabāra*, we cannot but feel, in spite of the lacuna, that they were received by Bṛhaspati himself. We should not be surprised with the conferment of the post of *senādhipati*. In ancient history we have number of instances where men of 'pen' were equally proficient in work of 'sword'. Moreover the title of Rāyamukuta suggests that Bṛhaspati did have some political power in his hand. This obvious conclusion has been misconstrued by Mr. Bhattacharya by assuming that *Gaudāvanī-vāsava* (or *pārthiva*) of the *Padacandrikā* is different from the *Gaudādhipa* of other works. For this assumption there is no basis, as shown earlier.

(iv) Mr. D. C. Bhattacharya remarks, "The reference to Jalāl-ud-Dīn without any honorific adjuncts seems to indicate that the Sultān was dead when the book was actually written." Such a wide assumption cannot be conceded, because we have several instances where the living kings have been referred to in this fashion. To give a few examples from the Mediaeval History of Bengal, we may cite from Kavīndra Parameśvara: —



नृपति हुसेनेसाह हय महामति ।  
पञ्चम गौडेते जार परमसुह्याति ।

...      ...      ...  
नृपति हुसेनसाह गौडेरे ईश्वर ।  
तान हक सेनापति हउन्त लस्कर ॥

Śrīkara Nandī also says :

नसरतमाह ताते अति महाराजा ।  
रामवत् नित्यपाले सब प्रजा ॥  
नृपति हुसेनसाह हय क्षितिपति ।  
साम-दान-दण्ड-भेद पाले वसुमतो ॥

Here also the simple titles *nṛpati*, *mahārājā*, or *mahāmati* have been employed, though we know that these kings in their inscriptions and coins assumed grandiloquent titles. We also know that both the poets wrote in the life-time of the kings. Thus, there does not seem to be any justification to assume that Jalāl-ud-Dīn was dead when the *Smṛtiratnabhāra* was composed.

If the points discussed above are accepted, the interpretation of the verses becomes very easy. As Mr. Bhattacharya has already shown verses 3-6 constitute one single sentence and verse 7 is a separate sentence. The principal sentence is जीयादयं स जगदन्तसुतः (v.3) which has following dependent clauses : —

( यः ) जल्लालदीननृपतिः सैनाधिपत्यमदात् । (v. 4)

यः धर्मसूनोरभिख्यां दधते । (v. 5),

यस्य काम्यं न किञ्चित् स्थितं । (v. 6).

Similarly, the words *Śrī Bhāskarāḥ Sūnavah* should be taken to mean “sons (lustrous as) the sun”; and *Śrī Bhāskarāḥ* cannot be regarded as the proper name of a son of Jalāl-ud-Dīn. The phrase *mantritva-murvībhujām* seems to be confusing. Either it should be corrected to *maniritvamurvībhujasya*, or the first letter ‘ma’ might be a mistake for ‘ya’ as has been suggested by Dr. Hazra. The latter reading tallies with the paramount power wielded by Jalāl-ud-Dīn.

Therefore, we can now conclude that most of Rāyamukūṭa’s works point Jalāl-ud-Dīn as his patron. Even the fragmentary verses in the *Smṛti-ratnabhāra* can be reasonably interpreted to support this claim. Historical facts are all in favour of this view.

## The Bhañjas of Khiñjali-Maṇḍala

Some of the Bhañja kings of ancient Orissa claimed to have ruled over the tract called Khiñjali-maṇḍala (sometimes called Ubhaya-Khiñjali, i.e., both the Khiñjalis). The exact location and boundaries of this tract are difficult to determine. While the earlier charters of these kings, issued from Dhṛtipura, came mostly from the old Sonepur, Baudh and Daspalla States, the later records, issued from the city of Vañjulvaka and other places, were found in the Ganjam District and its neighbourhood. Upto the time of Raṇabhañja, the third king of the branch known as the earlier Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala, the capital of the above tract of land was Dhṛtipura somewhere in upper Orissa, while Raṇabhañja's direct descendants are all known to have issued their charters from Vañjulvaka apparently in the Ganjam area. The common characteristic of the grants issued from Vañjulvaka is that they begin with three verses, the first of which commences with *Jayati kusuma-bāṇa*°, etc., and the third introduces the reigning monarch under a secondary name ending in the word *kalaśa*. There is little doubt that these Bhañjas were driven to the Ganjam region shortly after the reign of Raṇabhañja. Some later Bhañja rulers associated with the Khiñjali tract issued their charters from Kumārapura and Kolāḍa, both apparently in the Ganjam area. The Bhañjas of Kolāḍa are usually styled 'the later Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala.' Their capital, Kolāḍa, seems to be no other than the modern Kulāḍa near Russelkonda, which was the head-quarters of a Bhañja family down to the British period. The celebrated Oriya poet Upendrabhañja belonged to this branch of the Bhañja family. It is possible to think that Upendrabhañja was a direct descendant of the later Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala ruling from Kolāḍa. It may be that Khiñjali was originally the name of a tract covering parts of the Baudh, Sonepur and Keonjhar regions, where these Bhañjas at first ruled, but that the name was applied to their new kingdom in the Ganjam area after the loss of their territories in upper Orissa. Whether the Ganjam region formed a part of the dominions of the earlier rulers of the family, and was one of the two Khiñjalis mentioned in some records

cannot be satisfactorily determined, although it is possible if these Bhañjas are regarded as descendants of Netṭabhañja of the Baudh and Russelkoṇḍa plates.

The late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar quoted the correct genealogy of both the earlier and later Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala (*List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, pp. 379-80). With a slight modification, Bhandarkar's genealogy of the earlier Bhañjas of Khiñjali-maṇḍala, ruling first from Dhṛtipura and later from Vañjulvaka, stands as follows:

Śilābhañja I Āṅgaddi

|  
Rāṇaka Śatrubhañja Gandhaṭa, founder of Gandhaṭapāṭī (modern Gandharāḍhi in the old Baudh State); worshipper of Viṣṇu; Nos. 1490-91 of Bhandarkar's List, issued from Dhṛtipura; regnal year 15

|  
Rāṇaka Mahārāja Raṇabhañja; Nos. 1492-96, 2055, issued from Dhṛtipura; worshipper of Viṣṇu in regnal years 9, 16, 24 and 26 but of Śiva in 54; son-in-law of Niyārṇama, i.e. Kadamba Niyārṇava, grandfather of Dharmakhedi of No. 2053 (Gaṅga year 520 = 1016-18 A.D.) and No. 1951 (Śaka 917<sup>1</sup> = 995 A.D.)

|  
Digbhañja

|  
Rājan Netṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa I; worshipper of Śiva; Nos. 1497-99, issued from Vañjulvaka; regnal year 5 (?)

|  
Śilābhañja II

|  
Vidyādharaḥabhañja Amoghakalaśa; worshipper of Śiva; Nos. 1500-01, issued from Vañjulvaka.

|  
Netṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa II; worshipper of Viṣṇu; No. 1502, issued from Vañjulvaka<sup>2</sup>.

1 See *Select Inscriptions*, vol. I, p. 458, note.

2 For two other inscriptions of this king, see *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXIV, pp. 172 ff.; *JKHRS.*, vol. I, pp. 288 ff. Bhandarkar believed that the Baudh plates (*JBORS.*, vol. XVII, pp. 113 ff.) belonged to this ruler. But this record and the recently found Russelkonda plates were issued by Netṭabhañja of the Drumarājakula

On the basis of the mention of Kadamba Niyārṇava in a record of Raṇabhañja, the period when the above kings flourished may be roughly taken to be *circa* 920-1025 A.D. It should also be pointed out that Gandhaṭapāṭī, founded by the second king of the line, was apparently the headquarters of Gandhaṭapāṭī-maṇḍala, in which a village granted by the Somavaṃśī king Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I (*circa* 975-1000 A.D.)<sup>3</sup> was situated<sup>4</sup>. This fact not only suggests that Śatrubhañja Gandhaṭa flourished sometime before the end of the tenth century but also that it was the Somavaṃśīs (probably Yayāti I himself) who drove out the Bhañjas from upper Orissa to the Ganjam region. Another inscription of the same Somavaṃśī king records a grant made in favour of an inhabitant of Śilābhañjapāṭī in the Oḍra *deśa*<sup>5</sup>. This Śilābhañjapāṭī seems to have been a city built by and named after Śilābhañja I Āṅgaddi, founder of the early Bhañja dynasty of Khiñjali-maṇḍala. The above references are very important for the chronology of both the Bhañjas and the Somavaṃśīs.

Several new inscriptions of this family have come to our notice since the publication of Bhandarkar's List. Very recently I had the opportunity of examining a copper-plate grant of Śilābhañja II now lying in the possession of Mr. P. Acharya, Superintendent of Research and Museums, Government of Orissa. This record, issued from Vañjulvaka in the first regnal year of the king, gives the valuable informations that Śilābhañja II had the secondary or coronation name Tribhuvanakalaśa and that his father's name *Digbhañja* had the variant *Diśābhañja*. Now we know for certain that Śilābhañja II Tribhuvana-kalaśa actually ruled for at least about a year.

A small label inscription has been recently found painted on a stone wall at Sitabhinji in the old Keonjhar State. The characters of the epigraph belong to the later Kalinga script which is known from a

who flourished in the 8th century. It is not impossible that this Netṭabhañja was an ancestor of the Bhañjas of Dhṛtipura. The Daspalla plates (examined by me after this paper was sent to the press) of Śatrubhañja (son of Śilābhañja III and grandson or great-grandson of Vidyādharaḥbhañja), dated in the year 198, have created some problems which will be discussed in a separate article.

3 *I.H.Q.*, vol. XXII, p. 307.

4 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XI, p. 96 where *Ganudapāṭī* is a wrong reading.

5 *Ibid.*, vol. III, 353. The Oḍras appear to have originally been the northern neighbours of the Utkalas.

number of copper-plate inscriptions coming from the Ganjam region and assignable to dates between the eighth and eleventh centuries A.D.<sup>6</sup> A photograph of this record, merely giving the name of *Mahārāja* Diśābhañja, was shown to me by Mr. K. C. Panigrahi in December 1950 at Nagpur where we assembled for the 13th session of the Indian History Congress. This king seems to be no other than Digbhañja-Diśābhañja of the earlier Bhañja dynasty of Kbiñjali-maṇḍala, who flourished in the second half of the tenth century. It seems that he ruled from Dhṛtipura and was an elder brother of Neṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa I who was thus probably the earliest Bhañja ruler of Vañjulvaka. That the reigns of Digbhañja-Diśābhañja and his son Śilābhañja II Tribhuvanakalaśa were very short seems to be suggested by the paucity of their records. As regards the short reigns of the successors of Raṇabhañja generally, we have also to note the facts that an officer named Bhaṭṭa Stambhadeva and a goldsmith named Durgadeva served (1) Neṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa I, son of Raṇabhañja, (2) Śilābhañja II Tribhuvanakalaśa, grandson of Raṇabhañja, and (3) Vidyādharaḥbhañja Amoghakalaśa, great-grandson of Raṇabhañja, while the same goldsmith also served Neṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa II, son of Vidyādharaḥbhañja Amoghakalaśa.

Another later Bhañja king of Vañjulvaka was *Rāṇaka* Neṭṭabhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa, a charter of whose thirteenth regnal year I have recently examined through the kindness of Mr. P. Acharya. The style of the record is exactly the same as that of others issued from Vañjulvaka. The king was the son of Rāyabhañja and grandson of Pṛthvībhañja. It is not known whether Rāyabhañja and Pṛthvībhañja were actually rulers. King Neṭṭabhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa was a worshipper of Viṣṇu and seems to have flourished after the reintroduction of Vaiṣṇavism in the family by Neṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa II.

6 Bühler, *Ind. Ant.* vol. XXXIII, 1904, Appendix, pp. 69-70; cf. Tables VII, column XIX; Table VIII, columns X-XII; Ojha, *Prācīnana-lipi-mālā*, 1918, pp. 52 ff.; Plates LVII-LXIX. The inscription has since been published with Plate in *IAHRS.*, vol. XIX, pp. 191 ff. But its ascription to the fourth century A.D. on supposed palaeographical grounds (cf. also *INSI.*, vol. XIII, p. 69) is impossible in our opinion. Other records of the same place, published along with the above and assigned to the sixth century, are also actually not earlier than the tenth century. The published transcripts of these records appear to be inaccurate.

It will be seen from the genealogy of the family quoted above that there is hardly any space for Neṭṭabhañja Tribhuvanakalaśa and his father and grandfather in it before Neṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa II. It seems that Prthvībhañja was not far removed from Neṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa II and may have been the latter's brother, son or grandson. Thus the king who issued the charter under reference may be styled Neṭṭabhañja III Tribhuvanakalaśa II.

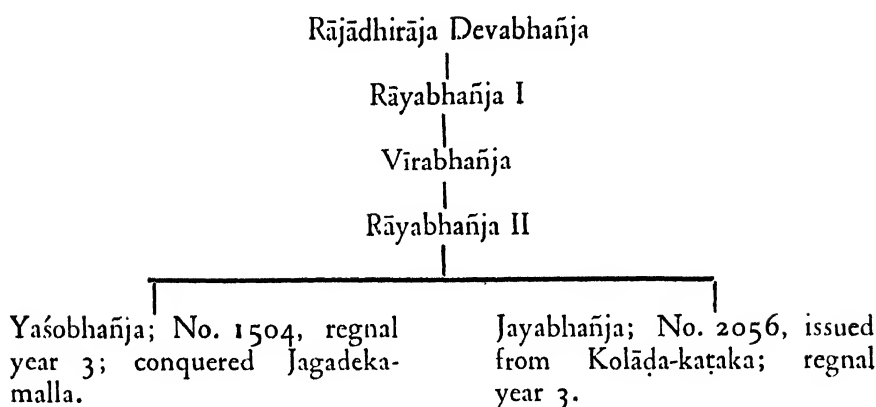
Mr. Satyanarayana Rājaguru published the Jangalpadu plates of a Bhañja king named Śatrubhañja Maṅgalarāja in *Utkala Sāhitya*, vol. XXXII, Part VII, 1936, and later in *JKHRS.*, vol. I, No. 2, September, 1946, pp. 181 ff., without noticing however that the same inscription had been previously edited by R. D. Banerji under the heading "The Tekkali Plates of Śatrubhañja" in *JBORS.*, vol. XVIII, Part III, 1932, pp. 387 ff. Unfortunately the text of the inscription as published by Banerji and Rājaguru is full of errors of all sorts and this fact led me to re-edit the record recently for the *Epigraphia Indica*. The date of the grant is read by Rājaguru as *Samvat 1012 Kārttika sudi 11* and he refers the year 1012 to the Śaka era to correspond to 1090 A.D. Banerji reads the date as *Samvat 800 Kārttika sudi 8* and he refers the year 800 to the Vikrama era to correspond to 732 A.D. In a paper entitled "Outlines of the History of the Bhañja Kings of Orissa," p. 3, reprinted from the *Dacca University Studies*, Dr. R.C. Majumdar rightly doubts the correctness of Banerji's reading of the year, although he wrongly assigns the inscription to the eighth century "on palaeographic consideration." The reading of the date is however undoubtedly *Samvat 10 + 4 Kārttika sudi 10 + 1*. The charter was thus issued on the 11th day of Kārttika in the king's 14th regnal year and there is hardly any doubt about the fact that king Śatrubhañja Maṅgalarāja flourished in the Vañjulvaka area considerably after the reign of Raṇabhañja (about the middle or the third quarter of tenth century). The inscription under review does not refer to Vañjulvaka as its place of issue, but quotes the three verses, *Jayati kusuma-bāṇa°*, etc., etc., found in all charters issued from Vañjulvaka since the days of Neṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa I, son of Raṇabhañja who ruled from Dhṛtipura. The use of a secondary or coronation name (cf. Maṅgalarāja claimed by Śatrubhañja) in the introduction of the charters was also introduced by Neṭṭabhañja Kalyā-

ṇakalaśa I. Śatrubhañja Maṅgalarāja was a Śaiva and thus seems to have flourished between the later years of Raṇabhañja who introduced Śaivism in the family and Neṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalaśa II who reintroduced Vaiṣṇavism. The use of the numerical symbols instead of decimal figures in the record of Śatrubhañja Maṅgalarāja would however suggest that he flourished before the eleventh century.<sup>7</sup> It therefore seems that he belonged to a collateral line and ruled contemporaneously with the Bhañjas of Vañjulvaka. He ruled over the *Salvaḍḍa viṣaya* which however may have been the same as the *Śalvaḍa viṣaya* mentioned in the recently found grant of Śilābhañja II Tribhuvanakalaśa, referred to above. Śatrubhañja Maṅgalarāja was the son of Śilābhañja, grandson of Mallagambhīra (wrongly read as *Pallagambhīra* by Banerji) and great-grandson of Yathāsukha (wrongly read as *Pathāsukha* by Rājaguru). It is not known and is really doubtful if these ancestors of Śatrubhañja Maṅgalarāja actually reigned.

Another Bhañja king, who granted a village in Khiñjali-maṇḍala and ruled in the Ganjam area, was *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Neṭṭabhañja, son of Raṇabhañja and grandson of Neṭṭabhañja. His charter, issued from Kumārapura, was published in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXIV, pp. 15 ff. The style of this charter is entirely different from that of the records issued from Vañjulvaka. The emblem on the seal, attached to it, is also not the lion but a *kalāśa*. He seems to have represented a different branch of the Bhañja family like the later Bhañjas of the Khiñjali country who ruled from the Kulāḍa *kaṭaka*. *Yuvarāja* Rāyabhañja, mentioned in this grant, may have been a son of its issuer. But it is not known whether the king's father and grandfather were actually rulers.

Only two records of the later Bhañjas of the Khiñjali country have so far been discovered, both coming from Antirigam in the Ganjam District. The genealogy supplied by these records may be tabulated as follows :

7 Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 115. [The Daspalla plates of the grandson or great-grandson of Vidyādharaḥabhañja give the date 198 in numerical figures.



Bhandarkar (*op. cit.*, p. 379, note) identifies Yaśobhañja's contemporary Jagadekamalla with the Western Cālukya king Perma-Jagadekamalla II (*circa* 1138-51 A.D.). Considering the ascription of king Raṇabhañja of Dhṛtipura to the middle or the third quarter of the tenth century and the number of succeeding rulers belonging to his own family and to the branch lines represented by Neṭṭabhañja of Kumārapura and Yaśobhañja and Jayabhañja of Kolāḍa, the reign of Yaśobhañja and Jayabhañja about the middle of the twelfth century appears quite probable. But these petty rulers of the Ganjam region must have owed allegiance to the early imperial Gaṅgas of Kalinga-nagara who were themselves subordinate allies of the great Coḷas, and the battle against the Western Cālukya monarch may have been fought by them in the train of the Gaṅga king and on behalf of the Coḷa emperor. Thus the identification of Jagadekamalla with the Cālukya king Jayasīṃha Jagadekamalla (*circa* 1015-42 A.D.), who is celebrated in history for his conflict with the mighty Coḷa monarch Rājendra I, may not be altogether improbable. In that case, however, we have to assume that many of the rulers of Vañjulvka, Kumārapura and Kolāḍa ruled contemporaneously. But the question cannot be settled finally in the present state of our knowledge until further evidence comes to light.



## Pre-Mauryan History according to the Purāṇas

The Purāṇic account of kings that ruled in Northern India after the extinction of the Bṛhadratha dynasty of Magadha and before the rise of Mauryas has, owing to the corrupt condition of the Purāṇic texts, often been summarily rejected as wholly distorted and wrong. If, however, we collate the texts of the two ancient Purāṇas, Vāyu and Matsya, and correct the corrupt readings, it will be found that the account, far from being distorted, is of distinct value in reconstructing the history of that period.

The most powerful states in Northern India after the fall of the Bṛhadrathas were Avantī and Magadha. The Purāṇas first give the history of Avantī, where, according to them, Pulaka, having killed his master, anointed his son Pradyota as king. Pradyota ruled for 23 years, and was succeeded by his son Pālaka who ruled for 24 years. Pālaka's successors Viṣākhayūpa and Āryaka (Ajaka, Sūryaka) are not mentioned as successive in the Purāṇas, and appear to have ruled contemporaneously in different parts of Avantī. Āryaka ruled for 31 years, and was succeeded by Avantivardhana (Vartivardhana), who ruled for 20 years. The total duration of the reigns of these four generations was thus 98 years or in round numbers 100 years. This is confirmed by the *Matsya Purāṇa* which says that the Pradyotas ruled for dvipaṅcāśat, i.e. twice-fifty or hundred years. The line of Pradyotas was destroyed by king Śiśunāga of Magadha whose son was Kākavarṇa.

Having thus disposed of the Pradyotas of Avantī, the Purāṇas take up the history of Magadha. It is clear that a line introducing the Magadha kings such as अत ऊर्ध्वं प्रवक्ष्यामि मागधेयान्नराधिपान् preceding the present line ततस्तु विंशति राजा क्षेमधर्मा भविष्यति has been lost. If this line had been present the meaning would be, "I shall now mention the kings of Magadha. There (tataḥ) Kṣemavarmā will be king for 20 years." This Kṣemadharmā or Kṣemavarmā was succeeded by Kṣemajit, who ruled for 24 years and was succeeded in turn by Bimbisāra, Ajātaśatru, Darśaka and Udāyi, who ruled for 28, 25, 24 and 33 years respectively. After Udāyi came Nandivardhana and

Mahānandī in turn. The verse giving their reign periods is as follows :—

द्वाचत्वारिंशत्समा भाव्यो राजा वै नन्दिवर्धनः ।

चत्वारिंशत्तयं चैव महानन्दी भविष्यति ॥

These kings undoubtedly could not have ruled for such long periods, as they are absolutely shadowy figures. Evidently 'catvāriṃśat' in both the lines of this verse is a mistaken reading, and hence the number of syllables is greater than the metre requires. No doubt the Matsya has corrected the metre by omitting 'dvā', but that is clearly an afterthought. The correct reading seems to have been something as follows :—

द्वावेव वत्सरौ भाव्यो राजा वै नन्दिवर्धनः ।

तस्यात्मजस्तयं चैव महानन्दी भविष्यति ॥

This would assign two years to Nandivardhana and three years to Mahānandī. The total duration of this dynasty would thus be 160 years.

The concluding verses of the history of this dynasty are :—

इत्येते भवितारोऽत्रवंशे वै शिशुनाकतः । शतानि त्रीणि पूर्णानि षष्टिवर्षाधिकानि तु ।  
शिशुनाका भविष्यन्ति राजानः क्षत्रबन्धवः ।

These verses undoubtedly contain what may be called copyist's errors. This is manifest from the mention of Śiśunāgas twice over in quick succession. The correct reading clearly was as follows :—

इत्येते भवितारोऽत्रवंशे वैक्षेमधर्मतः । शतमब्दानि पूर्णानि षष्टिवर्षाधिकानि तु । शिशु-  
नाकास्ततो भाव्या राजानः क्षत्रबन्धवः ।

This means that the descendants of Kṣemadharmā ruled for 160 years. Then came the Śiśunāgas. The names of the Śiśunāgas, being mentioned in connection with the destruction of the Pradyota dynasty, are not repeated. Śiśunāga is said to have ruled for catvāriṃśat or 40 years, but catvāriṃśat seems to be an error for caturviṃśat or caturdaśa, that is 24 or 14. His son Kākavarṇa ruled for 26 or 36 years. The total duration of their reigns may be assumed to have been 50 years.

Mahānandī, the last descendant of Bīṃbiśāra, had an illegitimate son named Mahāpadma Nanda. He probably considered the Śiśunāgas as usurpers and had been patiently waiting for an opportunity to

destroy their power. It was probably he who assassinated Kākavarṇa. He ruled for 28 years according to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*. He was succeeded by his eight sons who ruled for 12 years in all.

It is thus clear that the order of Magadhan dynasties in the *Purāṇas* is the same as that found in the Buddhist accounts. There are differences only in details, which may now be examined.

The Buddhist accounts begin the history of Magadha from the time of Bimbisāra. Bimbisāra and his descendants may be divided into two groups, the first headed by Bimbisāra and the second by Udāyin. In the first group the Buddhists mention only two, King Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru but the *Purāṇas* add one more king named Darśaka. In the second group the *Purāṇas* mention only three kings viz. Udāyin and his son and grandson (called Nandivardhana and Mahānandī by *Purāṇas* and Anuruddha and Muṇḍa by the Buddhists), but the *Mahāvaiṃśa* adds a fourth king named Nāgadāsaka. Now, whereas not only the name of Darśaka, but even the place assigned to him in the list of kings by the *Purāṇas* is corroborated by the *Svapnavāsavadattam* of the ancient poet Bhāsa<sup>1</sup>, the name of Nāgadāsaka is unknown outside the Ceylonese accounts. There is, therefore, not the slightest justification for rejecting the *Purāṇic* account in favour of the Ceylonese.

Coming to the Śiśunāga dynasty we find that whereas the *Purāṇas* mention only two generations in this dynasty viz. Śiśunāga and his son Kākavarṇa, the Ceylonese chronicles add a third, viz. the ten sons of Kālāsoka, another name of Kākavarṇa. Here also the available evidence supports the *Purāṇas*. Thus according to Curtius, the first Nanda murdered his sovereign and then, under the pretence of acting as guardian to the royal children, usurped the supreme authority, and afterwards put the young princes also to death. It is clear that the murdered sovereign was none other than Kālāsoka-Kākavarṇa who

1 According to this drama Udayana married the sister of Darśaka. Udayana was a contemporary of Ajātaśatru according to Buddhists. Darśaka, therefore, could have been a contemporary of Udayana only by being the son of Ajātaśatru as the *Purāṇas* treat him. Bhāsa certainly lived before the Christian era, probably in the time of Candragupta Maurya, as indicated by his description of India in *Bharatavākya* of *Svapnavāsavadattā*.

according to Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* had a tragic end. The description of the princes by Curtius as 'young' shows that Nanda put them to death not long after the murder of their father, for if they had been spared for 22 years, as alleged by the chroniclers of Ceylon, they could not have been called young. Nor is it at all likely that an ambitious monarch like Nanda could have spared the young princes for 22 long years, after having killed their father. We have therefore to believe the Purāṇic account which mentions only two kings of the dynasty of Śiśunāga.

Mahāpadma, the founder of the Nanda dynasty, was according to the Purāṇas an illegitimate son of Mahānandī, the last descendant of Bimbisāra. On the other hand, the Jain and Greek writers have called him the son of a barber. Here also the Purāṇic account seems more plausible. Mahāpadma's connection with the dynasty of Bimbisāra must have been the chief factor which helped him in gathering support against the Śiśunāga dynasty and ultimately uprooting it. The reason why he was dubbed the son of a barber is not far to seek. Mahāpadma was notorious for his greed, and it was customary in ancient India to call a greedy person the son of a barber. In the *Suppāraka Jātaka* we have the instance of a person, who, being disgusted with the greed of the king in whose employment he was, went away saying "This king is a barber's brat."

When we construct the chronology of Magadhan kings on the basis of the figures for the reign-periods of various kings as given in the Purāṇas, we find that it fully agrees with the various facts mentioned by the Buddhist, Jain and Greek writers. Accepting the corrections suggested by us for the figures of the reign-periods of Nandivardhana, Mahānandī and Śiśunāga the Purāṇic list of Magadhan kings with their reign-periods stands as follows:—

Kṣemavarmā	...	20 years
Kṣemajit	...	24 years
Bimbisāra	...	28 years
Ajātaśatru	...	25 years
Darśaka	...	24 years
Udāyin	...	33 years
Nandivardhana	...	2 years
Mahānandī	...	3 years

Śiśunāga	...	14 years
Kākavarṇa	...	36 years
Mahāpadma	...	28 years
His sons	...	12 years
Candragupta	...	24 years
Bindusāra	...	25 years
Aśoka	...	36 years

Now according to the Buddhists, the accession of Ajātaśatru took place eight years before the Nirvāṇa of Buddha. "There is now a general agreement that Buddha died within a few years of 480 B.C."<sup>2</sup> If so, there is no reason to doubt the correctness of the Cantonese dotted record according to which Buddha died in 486 B.C. This means that Ajātaśatru came to the throne in  $486 + 8 = 494$  B.C. On the basis of this date the chronology of Magadhan kings according to Purāṇic figures will be as follows:—

Kṣemavarmā	...	566—546 B.C.
Kṣemajit	...	546—522 B.C.
Bimbisāra	...	522—494 B.C.
Ajātaśatru	...	494—469 B.C.
Darśaka	...	469—445 B.C.
Udāyin	...	445—412 B.C.
Nandīvardhana	...	412—410 B.C.
Mahānandī	...	410—407 B.C.
Śiśunāga	...	407—393 B.C.
Kākavarṇa	...	393—357 B.C.
Mahāpadma	...	357—329 B.C.
His sons	...	329—317 B.C.
Candragupta	...	317—293 B.C.
Bindusāra	...	293—268 B.C.
Aśoka	...	268—232 B.C.

Let us now examine this chronology in the light of various facts preserved by the Buddhist, Jain and Greek writers. According to the Buddhist accounts the second Buddhist Council was held in the tenth year of the reign of Kālāśoka, when a hundred and odd years had elapsed after the death of Buddha. This means that the second Buddhist Council was held near about 386 B.C., and consequently

the tenth year of Kālāśoka's reign also fell near about this date. According to the Purāṇic chronology given above, the tenth year of Kākavarṇa's reign fell in 384 B.C. which is very near 386 B.C. Again, the Jain *Parīśiṣṭaparvan* implies that a period of 95 years elapsed between the death of Udayin and the accession of Candragupta<sup>3</sup>. This is exactly the period that elapsed between the two events according to the Purāṇic chronology. Further, according to Jains, Candragupta began to reign 255 years before the Vikrama era, or in 312 B.C. This date practically agrees with the date that we arrive at by accepting the Purāṇic chronology, the difference of five years being immaterial. But there is another very strong argument which favours the exact year of Candragupta's accession according to the Purāṇic chronology. The Jains and the Buddhists agree that Candragupta conquered Magadha after subduing the north-western frontiers of India<sup>4</sup>. The presence of Eudemos in the Punjab till 317 B.C., however, shows that Candragupta could hardly have conquered the Punjab till that date. As a matter of fact the quitting of Punjab by Eudemos 'must have been the result of the conquests of Candragupta, who thus must have acceded to the throne neither earlier nor much later than 317 B.C. The Purāṇic date thus admirably suits facts concerning Candragupta and his career. Lastly, let us consider the date of Aśoka. According to the Buddhist tradition, Aśoka's coronation took place 218 years after the Nirvāṇa of Buddha, i.e., in 486 - 218 = 268 B.C. This is exactly the date that the Purāṇic chronology gives. The assertion of the *Mahāvaiṃsa* that Aśoka had become king four years before his formal inauguration is clearly wrong, because it is not only not supported by any other evidence but is actually opposed by the statements of Aśoka himself in his edicts. Thus Aśoka always counts the length of his reign from his coronation, which certainly means that as usual his corona-

3 According to this work Udayana died 60 years after the death of Mahavira, and Candragupta became king 155 years after the same event, thus implying an interval of 95 years. It appears that Hemacandra, the author of *Parīśiṣṭaparvan*, has confused the date of the death of some later Jain saint with that of the passing away of Mahavira, for according to ancient and reliable Buddhist evidence Mahavira died before Buddha.

4 See the story of Candragupta and the old woman found both in *Parīśiṣṭaparvan* and *Mahāvaiṃsa-tīkā*

tion and accession were not separated by any considerable length of time. Had there been a difference of four years between the two events, Aśoka would not have measured the length of his reign from the later event. The truth seems to be that according to a reliable tradition Aśoka was crowned 218 years after the Nirvāṇa of Buddha, but according to the chronology of the predecessors of Aśoka as given in the Mahāvaiṃśa<sup>5</sup> the date of the beginning of Aśoka's reign fell four years earlier. To explain this inconsistency the monks coined the story that there was a difference of four years between Aśoka's accession and coronation.

This date of Aśoka also perfectly agrees with the dates of the Greek kings mentioned in his edicts. The dates of the Greek kings were as follows:—

Antiochus Theos of Syria	...	261 — 246 B.C.
Ptolemy Philadelphos of Egypt	...	285 — 247 B.C.
Antigonos Gonatus of Macedonia...		276 — 239 B.C.
Magas of Cyrene	...	300 — 250 B.C.
Alexander of Epirus	...	273 — 255 B.C.

R.E.XIII, in which the names of these kings are mentioned, was, according to the internal evidence of the rock edicts, engraved in the 14th year of Aśoka's reign. Its date according to our chronology would thus be 255 B.C., and at this date all the kings were alive.

Next let us take the chronology of the Pradyotas of Avantī. This dynasty was destroyed by Śiśunāga who began to rule in 407 B.C. Assuming that he overthrew the Pradyota dynasty in the very first year of his reign, as the Purāṇas suggest the chronology of the Pradyotas would be as follows:—

Pradyota	...	505 — 482 B.C.
Pālaka	...	482 — 458 B.C.
Āryaka	...	458 — 427 B.C.
Avantivardhana	...	427 — 407 B.C.

This chronology also agrees with the facts recorded in non-Brahmanical works. Thus Pradyota was a contemporary of Buddha

<sup>5</sup> The correctness of this chronology has been doubted even by Dr. Rhys Davids. See *Cambridge History of India*, Chap. VII, p. 190.

and survived him, for, according to the *Majjhima Nikāya*, shortly after the Buddha's death Ajātaśatru is said to have been fortifying his capital Rājagṛha in anticipation of an attack by Pradyota. The Purāṇic chronology is in full accord with this fact, for according to it also Pradyota died about 482 B.C., i.e. four years later than Buddha.

We thus see that the chronology of the Pradyotas, Bimbisāras, Śiśunāgas, Nandas and Mauryas, as preserved in the Purāṇas, accords with all the facts mentioned in various works.

PURUSHOTTAM LAL BHARGAVA



## Nabābakhānakhānācaritam

Unknown and unpublished Sanskrit works are valuable for their own sake, but at times they throw light on some problem in Indian history, which without such works would have remained unsolved. The *Nabābakhānakhānācaritam* by Rudra Kavi is such a valuable work.

### 1. Rudra Kavi and his works

The Sanskrit-knowing world is already acquainted with Rudra Kavi and his *Rāṣṭraudbhavaṁśāmahākāvya*<sup>1</sup> (*RVM*). The editor of this Kāvya informs us that Rudra also composed a work called *Jahāṅgīracaritam* which is not yet available in complete. Aufrecht mentions<sup>2</sup> a *Bābakhānācaritam* of Rudra which must be a mistake for *Nabābakhānācaritam* noted in the India Office Catalogue (No. 7304) as “a panegyric upon Emperor Jehangir in three Ullāsas composed in 1609 A. C.”<sup>3</sup> The same Catalogue also mentions two more works of Rudra viz. *Dānāśāhacaritam* (No. 7089) an eulogy of Akbar’s son Dāniyāl in four Ullāsas composed in 1603 A.C. and *Kīrtisamullāsa* a panegyric upon Sultan Khurram, son of Jehangir. Thus Rudra Kavi composed :

- |                              |       |           |
|------------------------------|-------|-----------|
| 1. Rāṣṭraudbhavaṁśāmahākāvya | in    | 1596 A.C. |
| 2. Dānāśāhacaritam           | in    | 1603 „    |
| 3. Nabābakhānācaritam        | in    | 1609 „    |
| 4. Jahāṅgīracaritam          | in    | ?         |
| 5. Kīrtisamullāsa            | about | 1616 „    |

Rudra, the author of these works, though we know very little about him, was according to the *RVM*. the son of Ananta and the grandson of Keśava. He was a learned Brahmin gifted with poetic talents by the favour of the Mother Goddess ( जगदम्बिकाडिप्रकमलद्वैतार्चना-

1 *Gaikwad Oriental Series*, No. 5. 1917.

2 *Cata. Cata.*, pt. I. p. 328.

3 Har Datt Sharma in Woolner Com. Vol. “The Poet Rudra and his works” pp. 241-44.

प्राप्तधीः ) and was attached to the court of Nārāyaṇa Shah and his son Pratāpa Shah, the Rajput princes of Rāṭhor dynasty ruling at Śālāmāyūrādri in Baglan<sup>4</sup>. Rudra's literary activity extended from 1596 to 1616<sup>5</sup> A.C.

## 2. Historical Background

According to the *RVM*. Nārāyaṇa Shah and his son Pratāpa were of the Rāṣṭraudhā dynasty about which much mythical and some historical account is given by the poet. Nārāyaṇa was the son of Bhairavasena and younger brother of Vīra(ma)sena. While the latter was ruling at Mayūragiri, Nārāyaṇa was his commander-in-chief. Hearing the exploits of the commander, Vīrasena was invited and honoured at Delhi by the emperor. But Queen Durgāvatī, wife of Vīrasena, soon became jealous of Nārāyaṇa and created misunderstanding between the two brothers. Nārāyaṇa was asked to quit Mayūragiri. He promptly retired to a village and then occupied Śālāgiri. Afterwards he began conquering the adjoining area and in a short period all the strongholds of Vīrasena fell to him. Pratāpa was appointed to look after the newly conquered territory and himself Nārāyaṇa marched against Mayūragiri. People of the capital deserted Vīrasena and rallied round the victor hailing him as their hero and ruler.

Nārāyaṇa Shah was the hero of many battles. By nature he was pious. He visited many holy places, gave rich presents to Brāhmaṇas, set up shrines and performed Agniṣṭoma and other sacrifices.

He was on friendly terms with the emperor at Delhi and commanded awe and respect at the courts of the southern kingdoms. Burhan Shah of Ahmadnagar sought his help for conquering the southern country. When Akbar had marched against Khandesh in 1599, he

4 Baglan is the country around Nasik, in Bombay Presidency. It is described in *Ain-i-Akbari* (1590) as a mountainous region, well-peopled and prosperous. It had seven forts, two of which were very important—Mulher (Mayūragiri) and Sāler (Śālāgiri).

5 It is said that Sūrya Pandit or Sūrya Daivajñya (\*1400-50 A.C.) resident of the town Pārtha near Pūrnatīrtha on the northern bank of Godāvarī was an ancestor of Rudra. Sūrya wrote many works such as *Prabodhasudhākara*, *Paramārthaprapā*, *Rāmaṭṭha Kāvya*, etc. A Nṛsimha Campu is ascribed to him (*MSS. Cat. of the RAS. of Bengal*, vol. 7, p. 333). But Rudra does not refer to 'Sūrya'.

attempted to seize Baglan. Pratāpa was besieged for seven years but in the end Akbar had to compound with him. This brings us directly to the *Nabābakhānakhānācaritam* (NKC) of Rudra Kavi.

### 3. *Nawab Khānkhānā and the NKC*

Nabābakhānakhānā was the title conferred upon Mirza Khan Abdur-rahim, the trusted commander of Akbar's army. When he suppressed the rebellion of Muzaffar Gujrati (1583-91), the emperor himself honoured him with the title. Mirza Khan, better known as Rahim was the only son of Bairam Khan and a distant kinsman of Akbar. He was a great scholar and poet. He is well known for his Doha poetry.

The NKC of Rudra<sup>6</sup> is in praise of Rahim and not of Jehangir. It is a small<sup>7</sup> work in Campu style in mixed prose and verse. It is complete in three chapters (Ullāsas) written in highly polished language. The long compounds, the mythological erudition, the difficult puns and the hyperbolic expression of the work at once remind us of the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa.

The work is more meant for style than for the subject-matter. Though it is historical in outlook, there is apparently little history in it. It contains mere description based upon exaggeration. It is possible that Rudra had no first-hand information of the Mogul commander and depended upon poetic convention and set phrases to describe the hero of his choice.

The First Ullāsa begins with:—

“मन्ये विश्वकृता दिशामधिपता त्वय्येव संस्थापिता  
यस्माज्जिष्णुरसि प्रभो शुचिरसि त्वं धर्मराजोऽप्यसि ।

6 Nagpur University MS.; purchased from Nasik; Acc. No. 582; size 10" × 4½"; Foll. 3-22, pretty old, well preserved, thick, dark-yellow paper, handwriting legible. First fol. missing.

Poons MS. secured for comparison through Dr. Y. K. Deshpande; size 8" × 4½", foll. 1-20, incomplete, fresh-looking, handwriting clear. It contains only first two chapters.

7 First Ullāsa contains 9 verses besides prose, 2nd Ullāsa has 20 verses and the third has 12. The post-colophon has five verses more. The work was composed at Śālāmayūrādri in Śaka 1531 “शाके क्षमाप्रतिथौ सौम्ये वैशाखे शुक्लपक्षे तो । चरितं खानखानस्य वर्णितं रुद्रसूरिणा । under the patronage of Pratāpa Shah.

राजन्पुण्यजनोऽसि विश्वजनिताधारप्रचेता जगत्  
प्राणस्त्वं धनदो महेश्वर इह श्रीखानखान प्रभो ॥

and goes on describing Khānkhānā as chief among all the kings etc. Here he is said to have conquered all the parts of India such as Aṅga, Kālīṅga, Vāṅga etc. where poet's eye is more upon the rhythmic alliteration in country-names than the truth of his statement. The poet has made Khānkhānā the paragon of all qualities, versed in all arts of war and peace, spending his time in hunting, sporting, studying, singing, painting etc. According to the poet, Khānkhānā was :

“द्वितीयः कलङ्कविक्रलः कुमुदिनीकान्त इव, स्वतन्त्रस्त्वृतीयो नासत्य इव,  
जलाभिभवनस्तुरीयः पावकः, निरस्तभुजङ्गमकरः पञ्चमो रत्नाकर इव ।  
अकल्पितवितरणानिपुणः षष्ठः कल्पद्रुम इव, अपरिमितसत्त्वः सप्तमः शक इव,  
सर्वत्र सर्वसमयगेयो मूर्तिमानष्टमः खर इव, सपत्नः स्वैराचारी नवमः  
कुलाचल इव.....”

such is the majestic style in which Rudra has described the hero without telling a single fact about him. The first Ullāsa is closed after eight verses.

The Second Ullāsa begins with :—

“श्रीमान् कल्पमहीरुहः किमवनौ किंवा स चिन्तामणिः  
किं कर्णः किमु विक्रमः किमथवा भोजोऽवतीर्णः परः ।  
इत्थं यत्न विलोकिते मतिमतां बुद्धिः समुज्जृम्भते  
सोऽयं संप्रति खानखाननृपतिर्जायात् सतां भूतये ॥

describes the hero as :

“यत्न च राजनि राजनीतिचतुरे चतुरर्णवमेखलमेदिनीमण्डलमखण्डं शासति  
विवादः षड्दर्शनेषु, सर्वमिथ्यावादो वेदान्तेषु, भेदवादस्त्वेकेषु, अविद्या-  
प्राधान्यं पूर्वमीमांसायां स्फोटाविर्भावो व्याकरणेषु, नास्तिकता चार्वाकेषु.....  
यस्य च मनसि धर्मेण, तोषे धनदेन, रोषे कृतान्तेन, प्रतापे तपनेन, रूपे मदनेन  
“जय जय राजसमाजविभूषण, विदलितदूषण, गुणगणमन्दिर, मन्मथसुन्दर.....  
“अपि च मदन इव नागरीभिः, तपन इव तपस्विभिर्दहन इव मनस्विभिः शमन इव  
शत्रुभिः पवन इव पथिकैः खजन इव सुहृज्जनैः.....”

and shows the skill of the poet in which Bāṇa excelled and brings home to us poet's mastery over language. The chapter is closed with the eighth verse :—

कलिः कृतयुगायते सुरपदायते मेदिनी । सहस्रकिरणायते भुजयुगप्रतापोदयः ॥  
यशो हिमकरायते गुणगणोऽपि तारायते । सहस्रनयनायते नृपनबाबवोराप्रणीः ॥

The Third Ullāsa is comparatively smaller. It begins with: —

विद्वन्मण्डलकल्पपादपवनं विद्योतिवाग्देवता-  
संकेतायतनं नितान्तकमलालीलाविलासायनम् ।  
सर्वोधा(?)वनिचक्रभाग्यसदनं भूमण्डलीमण्डनं  
कीर्तः केलिनिकेतनं विजयते श्रीखानखानानृपः ॥

and is closed with the praise of valour and magnanimity of Khānkhānā.

#### 4. Contribution to History

Thus the entire work (NKC) is a fine specimen of Sanskrit ornate prose and poetry but it is curiously silent about the historical aspect of the hero under description. Such a silence would have been mysterious but for the post-colophon verses which characteristically allow us a glimpse of the scene behind the curtain. Following are the verses :

त्वद्दोर्दण्डबलोपजीवकतया त्वामेव यो नाथते  
त्वत्कल्याणपरंपराश्रवणतापुष्टिं परां योऽश्नुते ।  
दूरस्थोऽपि च यस्तवैव परितः प्रख्यातिमाभाषते  
सोऽयं नार्हत्तु खानखान भवतः प्रीतिं प्रतापः कथम् ॥१॥

This verse suggests that the king Pratāpa Shah of Baglan was in some difficulty and expected help from Khānkhānā. Pratāpa had always depended upon him; wished for his success and praised him, even though Khānkhānā was far away. Pratāpa had, it seems, sent a letter to Khānkhānā seeking his help.

पूर्वं वीरपदेषु पुत्रपदवीमारोपितः श्रोमता  
यद्याकम्बरसाहृषार्थिवमणेरन्नं ततो भक्षितम् ।  
सोऽयं तेन मुदा नवावचरणान् प्राप्तः प्रतापः पुनः  
यत्ने संप्रति खानखान नृपते योग्यं तदेवाचर ॥२॥

This verse reminds Khānkhānā of the old relations that existed between him and Pratāpa, whom, it seems, Khānkhānā had treated as his own son and honoured him as a great warrior. Again, it is pointed out that the Baglan chiefs had always paid tribute to the Delhi emperor. Depending upon these old connections, Pratāpa was again requesting Khānkhānā to act, as would seem proper for the grave occasion.

सकलगुणपरीक्षणैकसीमा । नरपतिमण्डलवन्दनीयधामा ॥  
जगति जयति गीयमाननामा । गरिबनवाज नवाबखानखाना ॥३॥

This verse is simply a praise of Khānkhānā as the 'helper of the weak.'

बलिनृपबन्धनविष्णुः श्रीखानखानायम् ।

अम्बरशम्बरमदनौ तनयौ मीरजी अली च दाराबो ॥४॥

This verse brings before us, under the disguise of a metaphor the difficulty in which Pratāpa Shah was placed. The metaphor "बलिनृपबन्धनविष्णुः" serving as check over powerful monarchs—is well applied to Khānkhānā as he had a great influence over Jehangir and it is well known to history that khānkhānā was much interested in Jehangir even during the reign of Akbar. The influence of Khānkhānā over Jehangir was so great that even Nur Jehan was said to be jealous of him. This metaphor, therefore, suggests that Pratāpa Shah was threatened with some chastisement by Jehangir and hence the former had applied to Khānkhānā for help on the basis of old friendship. To complete the metaphor of Viṣṇu, the poet incidentally gives the names of the two sons of Khānkhānā :

वीरश्रीजहंगीरसाहिमदनप्रौढप्रतापोदय-

क्षुभ्यदक्षिणदिवकुरङ्गनयनासंसर्गसक्तात्मनि ।

क्षोणीमण्डनखानखानधरणीपाले तदीयाम्बर-

व्याक्षेपाय करं वितन्वति तया सानन्दया भूयते ॥५॥

This is the most important verse. With the help of a metaphor it makes the whole situation very clear. "The rising passion in the form of the valour of Emperor Jehangir has upset the fawn-eyed lady in the form of the Southern Direction. If, Khānkhānā, the ornament of the earth, extends his hand to touch her garment, she is pleased"—this explicitly means that Jehangir had sent his armies to suppress the southern chiefs. Baglan was overrun by the Mogul armies and Mulher was probably besieged. Pratāpa finding himself in great difficulty applied to Khānkhānā to save him in time.

The NKC. was perhaps sent to Abdur-rahim Khānkhānā at Delhi with presents, accompanied by a petition of succour, in the form of these five verses in the post-colophon. This is the secret lying behind this apparently unhistorical panegyric. As Rahim was himself a poet and a scholar of Sanskrit, there is a keen sense of appreciation and deserving appropriateness in sending such a petition with a covering of a panegyric. Rudra Kavi, it seems, was crowned with success in behalf of his master. The siege of Mulher was,

probably, lifted somewhere in 1609 A. C. Afterwards Pratāpa Shah asked the poet to compose an independent *Jahāngīracaritam*<sup>8</sup>.

### 5. The Campaign of Ahmadnagara

The first line of the second verse from the colophon—

“पूर्वं वीरपदेषु पुत्रपदवीमारोपितः श्रीमता ।”

brings before us the question, ‘How and when was Pratāpa Shah first called a warrior and then the son by Khānkhānā?’ For this we are required to refer to the campaign of Ahmadnagara as given in the *RVM*. The account of the campaign as summarised by V. S. Smith and others from the Muhammadan sources does not make this point clear. In the current histories nowhere do we find any mention of Pratāpa Shah of Baglan and his share in the Ahmadnagara campaign, as an ally and friend of Akbar. Following is the short sketch of the campaign as given by Briggs<sup>9</sup>, Smith<sup>10</sup> and others.<sup>11</sup>

“In 1593, Akbar decided to war against Burhan-l-Mulk the ruler of Ahmadnagar because the latter chose to remain independent and did not show inclination to accept sovereignty of the Delhi Emperor.

“In 1595 Burhan-l-Mulk was succeeded by his son Ibrahim. Ahmadnagara, the capital of Nizam Shah then became the scene of fearful struggles between the different parties of the state. Their mutual animosity reached such a pitch that one party committed the fatal error of appealing for aid to Sultan Murad, the second son of the Emperor Akbar, who was then the governor of Gujrat. This gave an opportunity to the Mogul Emperor to interfere in the affairs of the Deccan and enforce his sovereignty there.

“Akbar appointed Khānkhānā as the commander-in-chief of the invading force which consisted of 70,000 cavalry. Prince Murad was directed to join Khānkhānā.

“The operations of the armies of Khānkhānā and of Prince Murad were equally hampered by dissensions. The

8 In the “*Memoirs of Jehangir*” also (p. 396) the emperor states that he conferred on Pratāpa three rings of jacinth, diamond and ruby.

9 *Ferishta*, III. 292-304.

10 *Akbar, the Great Mogul.*, p. 249, 266 etc.

11 *Historical landmarks of the Deccan*, pp. 172-173.

Prince desired that the main advance should be made from Gujrat whereas the Commander recommended an invasion from Malwa.

“Eventually the southward moving armies marched through Berar as far as Ahmadnagara and laid siege to the capital.

“Those who had invited the prince now bitterly repented for their action and for a time at last all the parties were united in their opposition to the invader. The siege dragged on and the heroic endeavours of Sultan Chand Bibi and the eunuch Commander Sushil Khan of Bijapur made the Mogul leaders to propose terms for peace.

“The treaty was signed in 1596 by which the Province of Berar was ceded to Akbar by the court of Ahmadnagar.

#### 6. *The Variant Account*

The *RVM* (Canto XX) on the other hand informs us—

“Murad Shah, the son of Akbar encamped with his armies with a view to conquer the kingdom of Nizam Shah. Akbar had given a letter with a present of Kashmir clothes and a white horse, to Nārāyaṇa Shah, requesting him to join Murad. Pratāpa Shah was soon dispatched. It was then desired to know the depth of the enemy.

“After the monsoon, Pratāpa again joined Murad with his army. The combined forces poured into the enemy territory of Galan. Khānkhānā and Mir (Raja Ali Khan) of Khandesh joined them there. Khānkhānā requested Murad to offer commander’s position to Mir, but Murad declined, as it was already given to Pratāpa. The armies besieged Ahmadnagar. Pratāpa took such a leading part in the fight and fought so valiantly as to excite wonder and admiration of the Mogul leaders. The fort of Ahmadnagar was stormed which was then surrendered to the Prince with a request to release it in exchange of the country of Virāta (Berar)<sup>12</sup>.

अथ शाहमुरादभूमिपालो मुदितः प्राह वचः प्रतापशाहम् ।

विजितैव न केवलं त्वया भूरपि पीयूषसगोत्रकीर्तिधौता ॥ XX. 67

सत्यं त्वमसि गाङ्गेयः क्षितावेकमहारथः ।

विगण्य गणास्ताणि यदेको हतवान् रिपून् ॥ XX. 69



“The victorious armies then turned to Virāta and reached Bālāpūta for the monsoop. Pratāpa Shah returned with the consent of Murad and Khānkhānā, to Mayūragiri.”

Thus this was the occasion on which Pratāpa Shah earned the favour of Nawab Khānkhānā.

### 7. Conclusions

(1) We can therefore say by way of conclusion that, Rudra's *NKC* was a mere covering, a pretext to hide the petition of succour appended to it in the five verses of the post-colophon, sent by Pratāpa Shah of Baglan to Khānkhānā who was at that time in Delhi or some other place which was away from Mulher. Baglan was then overrun by the Mogul armies and Mulher was perhaps besieged.

(2) Incidentally, the importance of the *RVM*. in the reconstruction of the history of Akbar's designs in the south, deserves consideration of the historian.

V. W. KARAMBELKAR

ततः परं शाह मुरादवीर प्रतापभूमीपतिखानखानाः ।

प्रत्येकमातन्वत तत्र दुर्गप्राकारपाताय महासुरङ्गान् ॥ XX. 70.

ततः परं रम्यमुपायनीयमानोय नानाविधवस्तुजातम् ।

अनन्यगत्यात्मविदो विपत्ता वीरत्नयीं तां शरणं ययुस्ते ॥ XX. 77.

प्रदीयतां संप्रति केवलं नः सौराज्यमेतत्प्रथमं प्रवीराः ।

तद्ग्राह्यमार्यैस्तु विराटराज्यं तानाहुरेवं रिपवः शरण्यान् ॥ XX. 78.

## Concordance of the Fauna in the Rāmāyaṇa\*

23. KAKUDA = Hump of a bull.  
 (AK. 201/291) कङ्कते कं कौति वा ककुदम्  
 Ayo—viii (42a).
24. KAṆKA = Heron.  
 (AK. 87/127) कङ्कते कङ्कः । के जले हयति इति कङ्कः  
 Kis—lxii (56a).  
 Sun—viii (22a).  
 Yud—xvi (11a), lxiv (20a), lxxv (68a), xc1 (25a), xcv (68a).
25. KACCHAPA = Turtle.  
 (AK. 42/65) कच्छेन पिबति कच्छपः  
 Ara—xl (26a, 30b).  
 Kis—li (26a).  
 Sun—lxxx (19b).  
 Utt—vi (45a), xc (17a).
26. KADRU = Mother of Nāga (serpent).  
 (AK. 27/41) कन्दते कद्रुः  
 Ara—xx (29b, 32b, 33a).
27. KAPI = Ape.  
 (AK. 84/124) कम्पते चलति कपिः  
 (AS. 216) चलखभावात् कपिः  
 Ādi—1 (78a, 83b).  
 Ara—lxxvii (75a, 76a).

\* Contd. from p. 141 of vol. XXVIII, No. 2.

23 Harappa (Vats), I. 11510, II. 794, III. 739, V.J—185, VI.J—188; Mohenjo (Mackay), SD—3137-u, DK—9574-1; Śat. Brā., (Kanya), i, 4, 1, 8; Tait., Brā., i, 4, 7, 1, Mbb.

24 Sāṅkh. Āra., xii. 13; Tait. Saṁ., v. 4. 11. 1; Vāj. Saṁ., xxiv. 31; Mrit Saṁ., iii. 14. 12; Sv., ii. 9. 3. 6. 1; Mbb., (Beng.), i, 66, 2633.

25 Mohenjo (Mackay), DK—3951, 6528-1; Mbb., (BORI), i, 14, 60a.

26 Śat. Brā., (Madh.), iii. 2, 1; Mbb., (BORI), i, 60, 66a.

27 Harappa (Vats), I. PI. 16; III. 11625; Mohenjo (Mackay), DK—8162; Rv., x. 86. 5; Av., iii. 9. 4; iv. 33. 11; vi. 49. 1; Chand. Upa., i. 6. 7; Tait. Saṁ., iv. 2, 10. 1.

Kis—i (13a, 14a, 17b, 31a, 32a), ii (25b), iii (24a), v (28b)  
 viii (11a, 22a, 42b, 48a), ix (2b), xi (1b), xii (2a),  
 xiii (43a), xvi (12a), xvii (9a), xviii (18b, 28a), xix  
 (15a), xxi (1a, 20b), xxiii (1b), xxiv (28b), xxv (39a),  
 xxviii (29a), xxxi (10b, 15ab, 20b, 26a), xxxiii (15a, 23a),  
 xxxiv (3a, 4b, 9b, 10b, 11a, 17b), xxxv (5a, 16a),  
 xxxvi (17b), xxxvii (14b, 15b, 20ab), xxxviii (10a, 24b,  
 49a), xxxix (23b, 30b), xl (70b), xli (2b, 5b, 8b), xlii  
 (4a, 9a, 11a), xliii (36b, 51b, 62b, 67a), xlv (3b, 5a, 7b,  
 19b), xlviii (1a, 2a, 9a), lii (19b), liii (1b, 5a), liv (6a,  
 7a), lviii (15b), lix (10a), lxi (55b).

Sun—i (8b, 59b, 73a, 97ab), ii (15b, 16a, 30a, 31a, 32a, 33b,  
 44a, 50a), iii (1a, 6b, 17b, 18a, 21b, 22b, 25b, 71a, 72a,  
 74b, 80a), iv (7a, 8a, 9b), v (21a, 31a, 32a, 33a, 34b), vi  
 (8a), vii (4a, 9a, 12a, 22a, 23a, 23b, 28a, 31a, 33b,  
 34b, 48b, 49b, 50a), viii (6a, 7a, 8a, 9b, 10a, 12b,  
 20b, 23b, 25b), ix (2b, 11a, 62a), x (2a, 8b, 13a),  
 xi (2b), xii (2b, 9b, 11a, 16a, 17a, 28a, 46b), xiv  
 (28a, 73a), xv (14b, 29b, 39b, 41b, 46b, 48b, 53a, 64a),  
 xvi (22a, 49b, 58b), xvii (1a, 6b, 14a, 16b, 22a, 31a,  
 44b, 45b), xviii (24b, 40a, 68b), xx (3a, 22a, 27a), xxix  
 (3a), xxx (1a), xxxi (9b), xxxii (20b, 22a, 30a, 41a,  
 43b, 50a), xxxiii (1a, 24a), xxxv (12a, 33a, 34a, 38a,  
 39b, 40a, 48b), xxxvi (1a), xxxvii (24a, 27a, 39b, 43b),  
 xxxviii (1a, 3b, 4a, 39a, 40a, 41c), xl (6a, 9a, 10a, 12a),  
 xli (16a), xlii (4b, 6a, 7b, 10b, 11b, 13a, 19a, 23b, 26a,  
 29a, 30a, 31a, 33b, 36b, 38b, 40a), xliii (7a, 8b, 9b, 11a,  
 18a, 19a, 21b), xliv (10a), xlv (2b, 5b, 7a, 13b, 17ab,  
 21b), xlvi (19a), xlvii (4b), xlviii (36a, 37ab), xlix (4b,  
 9ab), l (3a, 4b, 6a, 12a, 17a, 19a, 23b, 29b), li (1a, 6b,  
 14b), lii (27a), liii (8a, 9a, 10a, 18a, 22a), liv (1b), lv (2a,  
 8a, 11a), lvi (13a, 15b, 18a, 23a, 24a, 25b, 27a, 32a), lvii  
 (3a, 5a, 32a, 115b), lix (10b), lx (2b, 4b, 9b, 14ab), lxi  
 (17a, 18b), lxii (5b, 7b, 16b, 20b), lxiv (6a, 27b), lxv (9a),  
 lxvi (5b, 13a), lxix (33a, 36a, 38a), lxx (26b), lxxi (18b),  
 lxxii (19b), lxxiv (23b, 25a, 48a, 49a, 61a), lxxv (9a),  
 lxxxii (33a), lxxxv (10b), xci (17a, 20a), xcii (4a), xcvi  
 (20a, 23a, 39b).

Yud—ii (47a), iv (17a, 48b, 51a), xii (1a, 24a, 26b, 31a),  
xiv (13b, 16a), xvi (12a, 16a, 34a, 35b, 97a, 100a,  
101a, 102a), xvii (17a), xviii (48b), xix (34b, 37a, 53b),  
xxi (30b, 32a, 33a, 38b), xxv (40d), xxviii (2a, 37a),  
xxix (15a, 27b), xxx (38a, 39a), xxxa (4b, 36a), xxxi  
(43b), xxxii (17a, 26a, 36b, 38a, 40a), xxxiii (6a),  
xxxvi (37a, 59a, 63b, 95b, 109a), xxxviii (38b), x'vi  
(40a, 41a, 73a), x'ix (39a, 50c, 51a), l (8a, 23a, 26a,  
40a, 42a, 43a), lii (42b), liii (31a, 51b, 57a, 58a), liv  
(51b, 56a), lvi (13a, 44a), lvii (10a, 11a), lix (3b, 5b),  
lxi (10a), lxii (9a, 16b), lxiii (12b), lxvi (6b, 7a, 18b,  
23b, 25a, 26a, 27a, 28b), lxx (22a, 26a), lxxi (46a),  
lxxiv (39c), lxxvi (42a), lxxvii (3b, 26a, 37a, 44b),  
lxxxviii (9b, 18a, 28a), lxxx (6b, 36a, 40b), lxxxiii  
(47a, 95a, 99a, 139b, 140b, 154a, 174a), lxxxiv (16b,  
35b), lxxxv (7a, 13a), cx (48a, 62b), cxii (16b), cxiii  
(58b).

Utt—xxiii (35a), xxxviii (55a), xl (18a, 20a), xlii (39b, 40a),  
xliii (16c, 18a, 20a).

28. KAPILĀ = Brown Cow.

‘कपिला गोविशेषः’ इति हेमचन्द्रः ।

Ayo—lxxix (20a).

29. KAPOTA = Dove or Pigeon.

AK. 86/127. केन पचते कपोतः

Ayo—xi (4a).

Kis—xiii (22b).

Utt—vi (53a).

Sun—xciii (4a, 5b).

30. KAMBALA = A sort of deer with a shaggy hairy coat.

Utt—xxxiv (22b).

28 *Mbh.*, (BORI), I. 49, 50; *Śat. Brā.*, XIV, 9. 4. 14; *Tait. Āra.*, I, 9. 2.

29 Mohenjo (Mackay), DK—5975—L; DK—12224—U; SD—2799—U; *Rv.*, i. 30. 4; *Av.*, xx. 135, 12; *Mait. Sam.*, iii, 14. 4; *Vāj. Sam.*, xxiv, 23.  
38; *Mbh.* (BORI), XII. 141—

30 *Mbh.* (BORI), I, 31. 10a.

31. KAMBU = Conch.  
 AK. 207/301. काम्यते कम्बुः शम्बुकेऽपि  
 Sun—xxxiii (10a).  
 Utt—xxviii (12b), xxxi (8b).
32. KARABHA = Young elephant.  
 AK. 151/217. कं शिरो रभत उत्तम्भयति करभो बालोष्टः  
 Utt—xxxviii (73b).
33. KARIN = Elephant.  
 Sun—xv (18b).  
 Yud—xxxv (9c).  
 Utt—vi (44a), vii (12a), xxxiv (12b), xxxviii (89a).
34. KAREṆU = Elephaht.  
 AK. 196/282. के मूर्द्धि रेणुरस्य करेणुः  
 Ayo—ix (5a), xiii (23a), xxxix (35b), xli (17b), cxi (47a).  
 Kis—xiii (10b), xlv (44b).  
 Sun—xv (28b), xxiii (16b), xxvii (28a).  
 Yud—lxxiii (14b), xcv (6b), cxii (9b).  
 Utt—xxi (3b, 16b).
35. KALA-HAMSA = Name of several species of the Hamsa bird  
 or goose.  
 AK 88/129. कलो मधुरवाग् हंसः कलहंसः ।  
 Kis—xxix (18a), li (12c).
36. KĀKA = Crow.  
 AK. 87/128. का शब्दं कायति ककते वा लौल्यात् काकः ।  
 Ayo—cv (40a, 41a, 42a, 43b, 45b, 46a, 47a, 48a, 50a,  
 56a, 57a, 58a).  
 Ara—iv (37a).  
 Sun—xxvii (34b), xxxvi (35b, 36a, 38b, 40a, 42b, 46b).  
 xxxvii (4b), lxvii (29b, 30a), lxxix (16b, 17b).  
 Yud—xi (35b), xxvii (34a), xxxb (13a), lxxx (68a), xciii (48a).  
 Utt—xxxvi (42a).

31 *Mbb.*32 *Mbb.*33 Mohenjo (Mackay), DK—8324-L; *Mbb.*34 *Mbb.*35 Mohenjo (Mackay), DK—4564; *Mbb.* (BORI), I, 60. 56.36 *Kāṣikā*, IV, 1. 151, 49; *Ait. Āra.*, III, 2. 4; *Ṣad. Brā.*, 5, 8.

37. KĀDAMBA = A kind of goose with dark-grey wings.

AK. 88/129. कदम्बस्यायं संधचारित्वात् कादम्बः ।

Kis—xiī (8a), xxvi (5a), li (12b), lii (39a).

Sun—lvi (1b), xiv (38a).

Utt—xx (20a).

38. KĀNANAUKAS = Monkey.

Sun—lx (12a), lxvi (7a, 12a).

Yud—xvi (19a), xxxi (17b), lxii (12b).

39. KĀRANĀVA = Sort of Duck.

AK. 89/131. करण्डो भवं कारण्डं पञ्जरबन्धं वाति कारण्डवः

Ayo—xxvii (18a), lii (33a), cxi (49a).

Ara—vii (3a), xii (14b), xv (42b), xxi (12a), lxxviii (15b),

lxxx (27a), lxxxii (27b, 42b).

Kis—xxix (16b), xliv (30b).

Sun—ix (9a, 57a), xiv (39a) xvi (26a), lvi (1a).

Yud—lxxxiii (71a).

Utt—lxxxiv (4b).

40. KĪTA = A worm or insect.

Ayo—xxv (32a), xxviii (14a).

41. KUKKUTĀ = A wild cock.

AK. 128. कुगुचारणेन कुटति कुक्कुटः ।

Sun—xv (41b).

42. KUṆJARA = Elephant.

AK. 183. कुञ्जो कुम्भाधोगतौ दंष्ट्र वास्तोऽस्य कुञ्जरः । कुञ्जेषु रमते, डः ।

Ādi—xiv (37a), xxvii (13b), liv (19b).

Ayo—xi (26a), xx (4a), xxvii (11b), xxxvii (3b), liv (40a, 42c),

lviii (7a), xci (17a, 20b), xciv (27b), cviii (9a), cix (27b),

cxi (11b), cxvi (41b), cxvii (17a).

37 Harappa (Vats), II—5573; Mohenjo (Mackay), DK—11716-U; *Mbb.*

39 Harappa (Vats), I. 621; III. 4997; V. 11893; Mohenjo (Mackay), DK—9560-1; *Mbb.*; *Kāśikā*, VI, 3. 119. 5.

40 *Av.*, ix. 4. 16; *Bṛhad-Up.*, vi. 1. 19; *Chānd. Upa.*, vi. 9. 3; *Kaus. Upa.*, i. 2; *Mbb.*, XIII, 117-9, 5728.

41 Harappa (Vats), II. 8300; Mohenjo (Mackay), DK—7896; *Vāj. Sam.*, i. 16; *Mbb.*; *Kāśikā*, II, 4. 31. 164; *Śat. Brā.*, I, 1. 4. 18; *Kān. Śat. Brā.*, I, 1, 3, 2.

42 *Mbb.* (BORI), I, 31, 150; *Kāśikā*, II, 1, 56, 11.

1HQ, SEPTEMBER, 1952.

Ara—xv (4a), xxxii (29b), xxxiii (29b), xxxiv (17a), liii (43a)

Kis—ii (8a, 12b), xiii (10a), xxxi (16b, 21b), xxxvii (5a).

Sun—ii (15a), iii (16b, 17b, 28a), v (21a), vii (34b, 59a), xxvii (20a), xxxv (34a), xxxviii (4a, 33a), liii (12a), lix (16a), lxxviii (17a).

Yud—iv (10a), xvi (20b), xvii (53a), xix (10a, 34b), xxxiii (2b), xlv (11a), l (8a), lvi (46b, 52a), lxiii (12b), lxxviii (28a), lxxxiv (25a), cxi (13b), cxii (26a), cxiii (27a).

Utt—vii (11b, 50a), xxi (3b, 16b, 29b), xxx (7b), xxxi (13a).

43. KUNJARI = Female elephant.

Ayo—lxxvii (7b)

44. KUMUDA = Elephant of the South-West or Southern quarter.

Utt—xxx (7a).

45. KURARA = Osprey, species of eagle.

AK. 129. कुरति कुररः । कुर शब्दे, कुरेति शब्दं राति वा ।

Kis—xxix (16a), li (11a, 12a), lix (38b), lix (30a).

Yud—xv (11a)

46. KURARI = Female osprey.

Ayo—xxxix (44a), lxvii (16b), lxviii (43b), lxxxiii (28a).

Ara—xv (6b).

Kis—xviii (32a), xix (4b).

Yud—xxiv (12b).

Sun—xviii (49a).

47. KURMA = Turtle or tortoise.

AK. 42/65. कुरति कुमूर्वेति वा कूर्मः ।

Ayo—cxxv (15a).

Kis—xvi (35b).

Sun—lxxv (12b).

Yud—lxxiv (12a), lxxxiii (131a)

44 *Mbh.* (BORI), I, 31, 156.

45 Harappa (Vats), Seal—255; *Mbh.* (BORI), I, 31, 15a.

47 Harappa (Vats), Seal—426; Mohenjo (Mackay), DK—9683-1; *Mbh.* (BORI), I, 59, 40; *Av.* IX, 4, 16; *Tait. Sam.*, II, 6, 3, 3; *Mait. Sam.*, III, 15, 3; *Vāj. Sam.*, XXIV, 34; *Sat. Brā.*, I, 6, 2, 3.

48. KOKA = Wolf.

AK. 85/126. कोकति गृहाति कवते याति वा कोकः ।

Ara—liii (42b).

Sun—xxvii (9b).

Yud—xxviii (18b).

49. KOKILA = Indian cuckoo.

AK. 87/128. कोकते चित्तं गृहाति कोकिलः ।

Ādi—ix (15a, lxvi (6a, 9a, 10a).

Ayo—xlix (2b), liv (42a), xcvi (6b), cv (12b, 13a).

Ara—lxxxii (10b, 26b).

Sun—xvii (8a), xviii (9b, 20b).

Yud—xv (10b).

Utt—xlv (11b), lxiv (1b).

50. KO-YAŚṬIKA = A small white crane, commonly called a *paddy-bird*.

AK. 131. की युजते कोयष्टिकः ।

AS. 245. कोयष्टिकः कोरडेति ख्यातः ।

Ayo—liv (42a).

Ara—lxxx (23a).

Yud—xv (9a).

51. KRAUÑCA = Curlew.

AK. 129. क्रुञ्चति वृद्धः । ( क्रौञ्च ) प्रज्ञादित्वादण् ।

Ādi—ii (12b, 17b, 31b, 32b).

Ayo—cxi (49b).

Ara—xx (19a), xxii (16b), lxxviii (7a), lxxxii (43a).

Kis—li (11a), lix (30a).

Sun—ix (57a).

Yud—liv (19a), lxxi (23b), lxxv (18b).

52. KRAUÑCĪ = Female curlew.

Ādi—ii (14b, 16b, 30a).

Ayo—xxxviii (48b), lxxvii (32b).

Ara—xx (18a, 19a).

48 Rv., vii. 104. 22; Sv., v. 23. 4; viii. 6. 2; Mbb.

49 Mbb. (Beng.), v, 160. 5444; Kāśikā, iv, 1. 4. 3.

51 Tait. Sam., v. 5. 12. 1; Mbb., vi, 51, 1.



## 53. KṚKALĀSA = Lizard

AS. 226. कृकेन कण्ठेन लसति क्रीडतीति कृकलासः ।

AK. 127. कृकं शिरोग्रीवं लासयति कृकलासः ।

Utt.—xviii (5b, 29a), 1v (18b, 19b).

## 54. KṚMI = Worm or insect.

AK. 127. कामति कि (कृ)मिः ।

Utt.—xxv (12a).

## 55. KHA GA = Bird.

AK. 131. खे गच्छति खगः ।

Ādi—iii (57a).

Ayo—1vi (2a, 11b), xci (16b), xcvi (30b), xcvi (5b), cv (54a),  
cvi (3a, 29d).

Ara—xxiii (8a), (xxix) (9b), xxxvii (14a), lvii (6a), lviii (16a)

Kis—xlii (43b), lviii (4b), lxii (47a).

Sun—1xix (11a), xciii (5a).

Yud—xxvii (34a), lxxxiii (90b).

Utt—vii (21b).

## 56. KHADGI = Female rhinoceros.

AK. 125. खडति भिनत्ति खड्गः । खड्गं शृङ्गमस्यास्तीति खड्गी ।

Ādi—xxvii (13b).

Ayo—xxv (33a).

(To be continued)

SIBADAS CHAUDHURI

53 *Tait. Saṁ.*, v. 5. 19. 1; *Mait. Saṁ.*, iii. 14. 21; *Vāj. Saṁ.*, xxiv. 40; *Bṛhad. Up.*, i, 5. 22; *Mbh.*, xiii, 132.

54 *Tait. Saṁ.*, v. 11. 1; *Mait. Saṁ.*, iii. 14, 11; *Vāj. Saṁ.*, xxiv. 30; *Mantra Brā.*, ii. 7; *Tait. Āraṇ.*, iv. 36; *Sat. Brā.*, v. 4. 1. 2; *Mbh.*, i, 1800.

55 *Mbh.*

56 *Mait. Saṁ.*, iii. 14. 21; *Vāj. Saṁ.*, xxiv. 40; Mohenjo (Mackay), DK—5863; *Mbh.*

## Foreign Elements in Hindu Ritual and Practice

The so-called Vedic hymn singers entered into the Ganges Valley from the north, along with their faith. Before their arrival, there were undoubtedly people inhabiting these tracts, who had their own creeds, rituals and social organisations, however primitive they might have been. In my Bengali book *Śāśvata Bhārata* an attempt has been made at giving a connected account of these facts. The first scholar who drew our attention to pre-Vedic Indians was late R. Chanda. He was followed by Dr. B. S. Guha, and then by late R. D. Banerji. Very recently attempts at tracing the aboriginal elements on linguistic basis have been made by Dr. P. C. Bagchi and Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee. The earliest people who themselves might not have been *ab-origine* were a Negroid people, called the Negritoes, whose descendants till reside in the Anadamans, Nicobar and the coastal belt of ancient Mckran. Their chief food was fish. They may be identical with the *Minavārs* of Tamil epics and *Ichthyophagoi* of the Greek historians of Alexander's invasion. They were followed by an Austric speaking people in two separate batches, remarkable for their skill in archery, and may be the same as *Villavārs* of the Tamil epics. According to one authority these Austric speaking people were a branch of the great Mediterranean race. These in their turn, were followed by peoples speaking several different tongues whom we know as 'Dravidians', who either came through Bolan Pass in Pakīstan, as the islands left by them amongst the Brahui people suggest, or migrated from India to Iran and Sumer (S. Mesopotamia) as suggested by late H. R. Hall. Be that as it may be, the culture complex in ancient India is undoubted, what Dr. S. C. Sarkar of Patna calls tribal civilisation is indeed this racial admixture and culture complex. The panorama of adoption and assimilation of traditions, rituals and customs by the so-called 'Aryans' form the original inhabitants of *Bhāratavarṣa*.

A proper assessment of the pre-Vedic culture of India and its legacy to the subsequent society and civilisation has become imperative. Dr. S. K. Chatterjee, has correctly pointed out that:

“But there has taken place in both Upper India and Bengal a commingling of cults, in both their ideals and theories and their practices and rituals, among *Purāṇic* Brahminism (including Tantricism), Buddhism in its numerous later phases, and Jainism; and this had led to a tangle with those of pre-Aryan origins particularly by the interaction of the *Purāṇic* cults of Brahminism on the one hand and various forms of later Buddhism on the other in Bengal, which is well nigh impossible to untie, and the matter has been further complicated by a third and independent group of cults and rituals entering this tangle—those of pre-Vedic origin which obtained amongst the Dravidians, Austric and Tibeto-Burman and other peoples of Bengal, recent and proto-historic, who formed the original inhabitants of Bengal upon whom Upper Gangetic Aryan speech and Hindu (i.e. Brahminical, Vedic, *Purāṇic* and *Tāntrik* as well as Buddhist and Jain) religion and culture were imposed, transforming them into Aryan speaking Hindu people by the end of the first millennium A.D.”<sup>1</sup>

It is now almost impossible at the present day, with the existing material at our disposal, to assess the value and character of the elements contributed by the early inhabitants of India. It is inherent in every ancient civilisation, whether it be Hellenic and non-Hellenistic, Cretan, Sumerian, Babylonian, Egyptian-pre-dynastic, Iranian or Urartian cultures. Unfortunately however, no Ramsay, Petrie, Evans, Wooley or Herzfeld has disentangled the tangled skein. Nevertheless, an effort however elementary it might be, is likely to reward any investigator. The greatest evidence is furnished by the ellipsoid stones washed down either by riverine action or worn smooth by lying in shallow streams, almost like neoliths. The present writer collected several such specimens in the branch of the *Tāmra-nālā*, at Taxila, immediately at the foot of the Kuṣāṇa city of Sirsukh. They are great favourites with the villagers. *Ghee*, milk, water and other offerings are made to them either as the symbol of Viṣṇu or as *liṅgams* of Śiva. Here lies the paradox. The stone is more suggestive of the inanimate, yet Indian beliefs gather around these stones myriads of ideas which infuse them with ‘power’, vitality

1 Dr. B. C. Law *Presentation volume* pt. I, p. 75.

and one might say personality. When solemn affirmation is necessary, a stone supposed to be representing *Nārāyaṇa* is sufficient. High caste Bengalees marry their children before this class of stones to be divine witness of the nuptials.

To the Muhammadan, the stone is pure, representing all forms of cleanliness, and it prays to God. As far as possible, therefore, the graves are made of stone, or stones are placed over graves, so that there might be unbroken prayers to God. By sitting on a stone, a learned man's prayers are more effective; and the holy prophet of Arabia set an example by saying prayers by holding a pebble in his hand, a custom which is still followed. Stones are placed on the graves of the saints by suppliants, with the hope of gratifying the saint through the prayers of the stones. In Sind, there is a custom by which several men take up the pebbles, and utter prayers over them with a view to induce the rain clouds burst. There is a belief that the fairies may be brought to this earth to do man's bidding by taking 41 stones and reading the verses of the *Koran* over them.

The phallic emblem of Śiva, one of the forms in which these stones are worshipped, itself seems to have been alien to original Vedic ritual. The legend of king Puṇḍarīka as found in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*<sup>2</sup> is an illuminating example of the non-Aryan origin of the cult, as well as the city of Banaras. King Puṇḍarīka of Banaras had arrogated to himself all the insignias of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, who admittedly belonged to Mathura and to whom the *Mahābhārata* gives the credit of transferring the Yadus to the western coast with their capital at Dvarka with disastrous results. All warnings by Kṛṣṇa having failed, Kṛṣṇa invaded Banaras and killed the king. The latter's son worshipped Mahādeva and obtained a *kṛtyā*, which was despatched by the vengeful son to destroy Dvarka. But the *Kṛtyā* was driven away and pursued by Kṛṣṇa's *sudarśana-cakra*, which only returned, when the whole city of Banaras with its inhabitants were burnt by it. This legend was based on a substratum of historical facts, viz. that there were innumerable conflicts between the so-called Aryan tribe of Yadus and others from Brahmāvartta, and non-Aryan worshippers of Mahādeva in the area immediately beyond the Doab between the

Ganges and the Yamuna. Mahādeva, according to the paurāṇic traditions, was originally a non-Aryan God.

If these stones were emblems of phallus worship, we have enough data to assume that it was pre-Vedic in origin, and long struggle must have taken place before it was admitted into the Brahmanical faith. The excavations at Mohenjodaro have established that the worship of both the male and female organs singly or jointly (modern *liṅgams* and *yonipattas*) were few of the main traits of the Indus or the Harappa culture<sup>3</sup>. As the Harappa culture was pre-Vedic and probably Dravidian, the next evidence is furnished by the *R̥gveda*. There are two references (VII. 21. 5) which Sāyaṇa explains as 'Śiśnena-divyānti kṛdanta-iti-śiśnadevāḥ abrahmacaryāḥ ity = ārtah<sup>4</sup>; and the second is (x. 99. 3) which is also explained by Sāyaṇa as 'śiśna-devena brahmacaryāṇśatadvāreṣu etc<sup>5</sup>.' Our conclusion has therefore to be based upon the interpretation of the term *śiśnadevāḥ*. This term has been explained by McDonnell as 'phallus worshippers' or people who have phallus as their deity<sup>6</sup>. Recently, Dr. A. P. Karmarkar has suggested a different interpretation. According to him, *śiśnadevāḥ* means those gods who possessed a *śiśna*<sup>7</sup>. This is quite possible, but not probable. The citations of nude divinities in the Mohenjodaro and Sumerian seals are perfectly correct, but there are no grounds for believing that their nudity was being emphasised. It is also impossible to presume in absence of any definite evidence that those gods which were not represented as nude were supposed to be without *śiśnas*. Therefore the explanation of McDonnell still stands; and we must take the contemptuous expressions in the *Vedas* as referring to the phallus worshippers.

We have ample data in the *Purāṇas* regarding the non-Aryan origin of the *liṅga* worship, and the serious struggle after which it was admitted into the Brahmanical pantheon. The legend about

3 Sir J. Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and Indus Valley Civilisation*, vol. i, pp. 39 ff. and plates.

4 *Vedic Samśodhak Maṇḍala edition*. Poona, p. 325.

5 Max Müller's edition, vol. vi, p. 306. I am indebted for these two references to Prof. M. M. Patkar of the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona.

6 McDonnell, *Vedic Index*, vol. ii, p. 382.

7 Dr. B. C. Law Volume, pt. i, p. 459.

king Divodāsa states that he was a virtuous king of Banaras, who had banished all the gods from the city. The present text of the *Purāṇas* certainly include Mahādeva in it, but, as the sequence will prove, it was a later concoction. Though worship of Brahminical gods were forbidden the *Kāśī Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa* admits that a high state of morality and piety existed<sup>8</sup>. Ultimately by a trick Divodāsa was persuaded to leave the city, but at the time of his departure he left a *liṅgam*. Why this special regard for a *liṅgam*? And why a *liṅgam* was left in the city of Banaras, when all the other gods had been banished, unless Divodāsa was a devotee of *liṅgams* or a phallus worshipper? The story historically interpreted implies one of the various stages by which the upper Indian gods and goddesses found acceptance not only with the *ab-originé* masses but also with the ruling classes of pre-Vedic India. The story of Dakṣa and his daughter Satī and her death clearly testifies that Mahādeva, whose forte was Banaras, was originally a non-Aryan god. For this, a reference may be made to the 87th chapter of the *Kāśī Khaṇḍam* of the *Skanda Purāṇa* as pointed out by Dr. Altekar. To make a long story short we may briefly restate the salient features of the tradition:

1. Satī married Mahādeva.

2. Menā, the mother of Satī, and queen of Dakṣa, could not stand the religious practices of Mahādeva and his followers; and her remarks offended Satī so much that along with her consort she leaves for Banaras (*Sk. Pur.*, chap. 12 verses 29-32).

3. Dakṣa later on decided to perform a sacrifice but he decided to exclude Mahādeva. The *Purāṇas* as in the case of Divodāsa try to gloss over the matter by saying that Mahādeva had offended Dakṣa.

4. The reasons put forward by Dakṣa make our task easier.

<sup>8</sup> *Skanda Purāṇa. Kāśī Khaṇḍa*, chaps. 62, 94; chaps. 58, 78; chap. 43. To these as well as others cited in this paper my attention was drawn by the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal from whom I received the earliest encouragement for research along with Śrī Kedarnath Chatterjee and Dr. P. C. Bagchi. They have also been utilised by Dr. A. S. Altekar in his *History of Banaras*, Banaras, 1937.

(a) He (Mahādeva) did not accept the *varṇāśrama dharma*. (b) His family, *gotra* and country were unknown. (c) He did not know the *Vedas*, so he was not a Brahmaṇa ? (d) He was neither a *Kṣatriya* nor a *Vaiśya* nor a *Śūdra* (*Vāyu* chap. 88, verses 25-33).

Dr. A. S. Altekar rightly argued that historically interpreted the story seems to indicate that Mahādeva was a pre-Vedic divinity. The *Rgvedas* know Rudra but not Mahādeva. He did not perform sacrifices and destroyed sacrificial fires.

In a previous paragraph, I have dealt with Muslim veneration for stones. To Hindu mind, though the stone was an inanimate object, it possessed all the powers of good and evil. It possessed the power of solemnity. Images of divinities were therefore fashioned out of stone, and even unto unfashioned stones the power of god is invoked. In Maratha villages Khāṇdobā is represented by a pile of stones. Small stones which the illiterate minds invest with divine power are placed in cattle sheds, to drive away evil spirits, or buried in fields, courtyards or gardens as a protection against evils. Any stone thus fashioned or unfashioned gains sanctity in the eyes of the Hindu villagers whom, they must adore in times of prosperity, must invoke, in years of drought, when epidemic breaks out in the neighbourhood.

At Sarnath, in the district of Banaras, not far away from the Archaeological Museum, under a Neem tree, near an well, many travellers will find a stone on an elevated platform, faced with bricks. Locally, it is called *Carāiyā Māi*. In fact it happens to be the capital of a 'later Gupta' column, taken away from the adjoining ruins, to satisfy the piety of the Hindu peasants. This cult of village godlings is widely prevalent throughout U.P. and they serve several functions. This particular (erstwhile column) divinity is worshipped on the completion of autumn harvest by the peasant women, on the morning by *Khicuri*, after remaining on a diet of *siṅgārā* or *pāniphāl* pulp the previous day, with flower, water and rice ; and dance before it. It is not unusual to find an admittedly Buddhist image being worshipped by local villagers. On the south eastern corner of the 'Caukhandi Stūpa', we find a much defaced torso of a *Bodhisattva*, which is worshipped by two local villages, and an alleged *homa* is offered to it by orthodox (Proto-Austroloid) Koiris to avert epidemics

and drought.<sup>9</sup> Both the divinities have been identified by illiterate Brahmins with the Hindu goddess *Caṇḍī*. At the southern extremity of the village of Barahipur, near Sarnath, is another image of *Bodhisattva*, which receives veneration of a predominantly Brahman village. At Ramnagar village, in the Bareilly district of U.P., near the ancient ruins of the city of Ahicchatrā, there is a red sandstone image of Maitreya, in the local zamindar's *chāoni* (*Kāchāri* of Bengal) which is worshipped as Viṣṇu. At Nālandā, the most scandalising instance is that of the large blue schist image of Buddha in the earth touching attitude being worshipped by local Hindus, at the instance of a Sanskrit knowing Brahman, named Gaurī Saṅkar Sarmā, who was a teacher in the local High school, as Kāla Bhairon. The other instance is the largest known stele depicting the eight miracles of Gautama's life within the village lands of Jagdishpur, in pargana Besbak, subdivision Bihar, Dt. Patna : as 'Rukminī Dei'.<sup>10</sup> The worst example is that of Sarilkak where mediæval Buddhist *Stūpas* have been utilised as Śiva *liṅgams*, while the door leaves of the sanctum have been carved with the name of Rāma, who is regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

The Dhamek at Sarnath is one of the loftiest towers in India. It was a structure originally raised in Mauryan times probably to commemorate the spot. Whenever any marriage takes place amongst the Koiris and Bhars the bridegroom or bride worship the Dhamek. The ritual consists of rice, water and flowers to a typical Buddhist monument, by people, who consider themselves better than Brahmins, and do not touch food cooked by that caste. On 8th May 1946, a party of Bhars came to do the same with their newly married son. These Bhars were originally a Dravidian (?) tribe, whom modern scholars are trying to identify with the Bhāraśivas of ancient history. If it<sup>11</sup> was a common custom with the Bhars and Koiris we

9 These are Ganj and Sheodinpur, in revenue *parganā* Shecopur *tahsil* Banaras, district Banaras. Parenthetically, it might be noted that the name Sheodinpur belongs to the hamlet nestling at the foot of the *Caukhandi Stūpa*. But this name has now gone out of use and it is now popularly designated as Ganj as it is within the *manzah*.

10 R. D. Bancrji, *Eastern Indian School of Mediæval Sculptures*.

11 For Koiris and Bhars consult Buxton: *People of Asia* where their Proto-



would have expected such nuptial ceremonies everywhere. But the present writer witnessed a Bhar marriage in Rasra tahsil of the Balliya district, but worship of tumulis, stone or images did not take place there. Then this attachment for a Buddhist *Stūpa* amongst the Bhars, Koiris, Kunbis, Ahirs in the neighbouring villages of Sarnath has to be explained. Possibly they prove the truth of the principle enunciated by Sir William Ramsay regarding 'persistence of worship'<sup>12</sup>.

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Austroloid character has been discussed. Also Crooke: *Tribe and Castes of North-Western Provinces*.

<sup>12</sup> Regarding permanence of worship, E. Herzfeld draws our attention to a peculiar custom of nomads of Iran coming into the plains of Pasargadæ. They go round the tomb of Cyrus thrice with their flock and annoint the stones. E. Herzfeld, *An Archæological History of Iran*, London, 1935, p. 28.

## On the Controversy about the *Arthaśāstra*

From the time of its discovery, the Kauṭīliya *Arthaśāstra* has become for the historians one of the most valuable works in the whole range of Sanskrit literature. It is, however, a matter of pity that there is no definite evidence on the age, authorship and authenticity of this work, and this important point of our history is still subject to controversy.

One group of scholars<sup>1</sup> believing in the traditions thinks that our *Arthaśāstra* is the original *Arthaśāstra* written by Kauṭīliya who is called even Cāṇakya or Viṣṇugupta, and who helped Candragupta in destroying the Nandas about 4th century B. C. Another group of scholars<sup>2</sup> has rejected this traditionalist view on the ground that the language, style and contents of the present *Arthaśāstra* indicate a date much later than 4th century B. C.

On this background this paper proposes to discuss that:

(A) There was one Kauṭīliya or Cāṇakya who helped Candragupta Maurya.

(B) This Kauṭīliya or Cāṇakya probably wrote some work on polity.

(C) This work of Kauṭīliya or Cāṇakya written possibly in Sūtra form underwent a process of growth to bhāṣya form, though retaining its original authorship.

<sup>1</sup> Jacobi, *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, xxxviii, 1912, pp. 832-849; Fleet, *Preface to Shamasastri's English translation of the Arthaśāstra*; Shamasastri, *Introduction to his translation of the Arthaśāstra*; Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th ed.; F. W. Thomas, *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 474; R. K. Mukerji, *Introduction to N. N. Law's Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity*; N. N. Law, *Calcutta Review*, 1924; K. P. Jayasaval, *Hindu Polity*. N. N. Ghosh, *Age and Authenticity of the Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra and others*.

<sup>2</sup> Keith, *Hist. Class Sans. Lit. and Sir Asutosh Memorial Vol. of Patna*; R. G. Bhandarkar, *Proc. of the First Oriental Conference Poona*, 1919, vol. I, pp. 24 and 66; Winternitz, *Calcutta Review*, 1924 (April), pp. 1 ff. *Some Problems of Indian Literature* containing the Calcutta University Readership Lecture Series 1923 and *Geschichte der Indischen Literatur*, Dritter Band; Jolly, *Introduction to his edition of the Arthaśāstra and others*.

(D) Our present *Arthaśāstra* seems to be redacted by Viṣṇugupta from the mass of the bhāṣya literature accumulated round the work of Kauṭilya. This Viṣṇugupta was perhaps some one other than Kauṭilya.

The above hypothesis has the merit of reconciling the present difference of opinion about the *Arthaśāstra*, that is, acceptance of late date for our present *Arthaśāstra* without any injury to the old Indian tradition.

### A

Those scholars, who find out in the *Arthaśāstra* some material of a date later than that of Kauṭilya, a contemporary of Candragupta Maurya, have gone, apparently for justification of their view, to such lengths of scepticism as to reject the historicity of the whole Kauṭilyan tradition. This tradition is, however, deeply rooted and can hardly be dismissed off hand. It occurs in such authentic old works as form the very foundation of all our ancient Indian history. Thus the oldest versions of the Purāṇas have spoken of Kauṭilya in unequivocal terms:

नवैतान् नन्दान् कौटिल्यो ब्राह्मणः समुद्धरिष्यति...कौटिल्य एव चन्द्रगुप्तं राज्येऽभिषेच्यति ।—*Viṣṇupurāṇa*.

कौटिल्यः चन्द्रगुप्तं ततो राज्येऽभिषेच्यति—*Matsyapurāṇa*.

चन्द्रगुप्तं नृपं राज्ये कौटिल्यः स्थापयिष्यति—*Vāyu and Brahmandapurāṇas*.

Similarly the *Mahāvamśa* the oldest and the foremost of the historical Buddhist works, alludes to Cāṇakya in the following clear words:

“Then did the Brahman Cāṇakka anoint a glorious youth known by the name Candragupta as king over all Jambudvīpa, born of a noble clan, the Moriyas, when filled with bitter hate, he had slain the ninth (Nanda) Dhanananda.”<sup>3</sup>

Apart from other references to Kauṭilya, these authorities alone, preserved in distant and different schools and based on independent traditions, are sufficient to prove the existence of Kauṭilya. They further show that Kauṭilya and Cāṇakya refer to one and the same person who helped Candragupta against the Nandas.

## B

The above discussion will leave little doubt about the fact that there was a Kauṭilya or Cāṇakya who helped Candragupta Maurya. Now the tradition about Kauṭilya's writing a work on diplomacy is no less grounded than the tradition about his helping Candragupta Maurya. The Nandisūtra, a Jain work of about the beginning of the Christian era, shows its acquaintance with Cāṇakya :

खमए अमच्चपुते चाणक्ये चैव शुतभदेय ।

“Kṣapaṇaka, Amātya-putra, Cāṇakya and Sthūlabhadra (are personages famous for their keen intellect).”

The work refers to a work of Kauṭilya as well, and puts this work in antiquity with the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* :

भारहं रामायणं भीमसूरकं कौटिल्यम् ।

“The Bhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Bhīmasurīya and the Kauṭīliya (are false sciences).”

The *Pañcatantra*, assigned generally to 4th century A.D., not only knows of an *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya but also knows of this work to be so old as to be at par with the *Manusmṛti* :

ततो धर्मशास्त्राणि मन्वादीनि अर्थशास्त्राणि चाणक्यादीनि कामशास्त्राणि वात्स्यायनादीनि ।

Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* of 7th century A.D. speaks of this work of Kauṭilya as a Śāstra which was held by many as an (old) authority for conducting life :

किं वा तेषां साम्प्रतं येषामनृशसप्रायोपदेशकौटिल्यशास्त्रं प्रमाणम् ।

Now it may be assumed with more or less probability that Kauṭilya did exist and possibly he wrote some work on polity. This work of Kauṭilya should have been written by him about 4th century B.C. which is definitely the time of Candragupta Maurya with whom the tradition connects Kauṭilya so strongly. It was perhaps at about this age that the ancient sages wrote their Sūtras on various branches of learning<sup>4</sup>, and it is not unlikely that Kauṭilya wrote some sūtras<sup>5</sup> on

4 Hopkins gives the period of writing in the Sūtra style from 'the sixth or seventh century before Christ to about the second century' in *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, vol. 1, p. 227.

5 At the end of the second and third edition of his *Arthaśāstra* Shamasastri

the *Arthaśāstra*. Our present *Arthaśāstra* itself frequently quotes Kauṭilya's opinions with no less than one dozen of the most ancient ācāryas of the Sūtra age. The Sūtras of Kauṭilya, if there were any, might have gone forward, like all other Sūtra literature, to the bhāṣya form at the hands of the later generations.

The fact that there were some Sūtras on the *Arthaśāstra* which later developed into bhāṣya form is attested to by the style of our present *Arthaśāstra* itself. Shamasastri has pointed out<sup>6</sup> some words in its diction which are reminiscent of its original Sūtra form, and, which, going beyond the rules of Pāṇini, compare in antiquity with the words of the later Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads, Āpastamba Sūtra, Baudhāyana Sūtra and other Sūtra works. R. K. Mukerji has compared<sup>7</sup> some words of this work with those used in the edicts of Aśoka. This characteristic of the present *Arthaśāstra* is so evident that it has been freely accepted even by those scholars who think that the *Arthaśāstra* is a work of a very late date. Thus Jolly has shown<sup>8</sup> that many expressions found in the *Arthaśāstra* occur even in the Sūtra, Epic and Smṛti literature. Similarly pleading that the oldest Sanskrit works were written in the Sūtra form, Winternitz has said that even our present *Arthaśāstra* has sufficient vestiges of these Sūtras:

“The Kauṭilya *Arthaśāstra* is composed in mixture of sūtra and bhāṣya style, occasionally the prose is interrupted by memorial verses or maxims, mostly śloka but sometimes also verses in Upajāti metre.”

Thus our *Arthaśāstra* seems to be, as some scholars<sup>10</sup> have said, a work of accumulation. Written in the Sūtra style, it developed the

gives at the pages 433-456 a work entitled Chāṇakyaśūtrāṇi. These Sūtras, however, betray later age.

6 Shamasastri's *Introduction to his translation of the Arthaśāstra into English*, pp. xxii-xxiv.

7 R. K. Mukerji, *Introduction to N. N. Law's Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity*, pp. xli-xlii.

8 Jolly, *Introduction to his edition of the Arthaśāstra*, pp. 12-34.

9 Winternitz, *Some Problems of Indian Literature*, p. 86.

10 Hillenbrandt, *Das Kauṭilyaśāstra und Verwandtes*, Breslau, 1908; Keith, *JRAS.*, 1916; D. R. Bhandarkar, *Annals Bhand. Inst.* VII, parts I and II, 65 ff. and *Some Aspects of Anc. Hindu Polity*, Lecture II; A.S. Altekar, *Prācīna Bhāratiya Śāsanapaddhati*, pp. 6-7 and others.

bhāṣya form of its own, and thus it might have occupied a period of many centuries for its completion in the present form. So, when scores of colophons and a few verses of the present *Arthaśāstra* attribute its authorship to one Kauṭilya, they are to be taken to do so in a particular sense. Kauṭilya alone might hardly be responsible for the present form of the *Arthaśāstra*. He may be taken, like other individual authors of the Epics, Smṛtis and other old works which grew to their present shape in course of time, to be only the originator of the *Arthaśāstra*. It is a general characteristic of numerous old works that even while having undergone substantial change, they retain their original or early authorship. This is likely to be true even in the case of the *Arthaśāstra*. If it be so, this fact alone will go a long way to relieve much of the tension of our Kauṭilyan controversy. It will become possible to reconcile some late material of the present *Arthaśāstra* with the tradition of its having an earlier authorship.

## D

As said above the colophons and a few other statements of the *Arthaśāstra* seem to refer to Kauṭilya's authorship of the present *Arthaśāstra* in its origin. Now there occurs a verse at the end of this *Arthaśāstra* which tends to suggest that one Viṣṇugupta was its writer :

दृष्ट्वा विप्रतिपत्तिं बहुधा शास्त्रेषु भाष्यकाराणाम् ।  
स्वयमेव विष्णुगुप्तश्चकार सूत्रं च भाष्यं च ॥

It is said here that at a time when the writings of the commentators were creating confusion in the original texts, Viṣṇugupta brought about the present Sūtra and bhāṣya work. It seems to me that this verse means to say that our present *Arthaśāstra*, which is a redaction of some Sūtras and bhāṣyas, was composed by Viṣṇugupta. Kāmandaka<sup>11</sup> and Daṇḍin<sup>12</sup>, who apparently refer to our present *Arthaśāstra* make it redacted by Viṣṇugupta from a vast mass of literature.

The later commentators have identified Viṣṇugupta with Kauṭilya or Cāṇakya, and some works of late classical Sanskrit Literature

11 नीतिशास्त्रामृतं श्रीमानर्थशास्त्रमहोदधेः ।

य उदघ्ने नमस्तस्मै विष्णुगुप्ताय वेधसे ॥

12 आचार्य विष्णुगुप्ते न...षड्भिः श्लोकसहस्रैः संचितो ।

also make the same confusion. But it is far from convincing that Viṣṇugupta was the same as Cāṇakya or Kauṭilya. I would like to put down for consideration the following points which tend to throw doubt on the fact that Viṣṇugupta was the same as Cāṇakya or Kauṭilya :

(1) The present *Arthaśāstra* refers to Kauṭilya several times but it never shows any knowledge of Viṣṇugupta. In the *Arthaśāstra* the name of Viṣṇugupta comes at the end of the work only once, and he is nowhere connected with Kauṭilya who alone is said to be the originator of the *Arthaśāstra* and destroyer of the Nandas. Thus Winternitz has said, "Kauṭilya is called only once Viṣṇugupta in the final śloka which has all the appearance of a copyist's addition, for it follows after the last colophon"<sup>13</sup>

(2) In early Brāhmaṇical (the old Purāṇas, the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Pañcatantra*), Buddhist (the Mahāvamśa) and Jain (the Nandisūtra) works it is only either Kauṭilya or Cāṇakya who is said to have written an *Arthaśāstra* or destroyed the Nandas. In the later commentaries of such works or in the works of the late classical Sanskrit literature such as Kāmandaka's *Nītisāra*, Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita*, Viśākhaḍatta's *Mudrārākṣasa*, that Viṣṇugupta occurs as another name of Kauṭilya.

(3) It is possible that due to some confusion occurring in later times Viṣṇugupta came to be identified with Kauṭilya. If it be so, this identification should have taken place at a time when it was quite easy rather natural to commit such confusion.

It has been shown already that the present *Arthaśāstra* retained the authorship of Kauṭilya in its colophons, and at the same time it had a verse at its end which perhaps indicated the fact that it was redacted to its present form by Viṣṇugupta. If it be so, as it is likely to be, it would have been easy for anyone to commit the confusion that authorship of the *Arthaśāstra* was attributed to Kauṭilya and Viṣṇugupta both who should be thus the same person. The origin of this confusion would have been due, to a large extent, to the circumstance that the word 'wrote originally' and 'redacted' may be expressed in Sanskrit by one and the same word 'चकार'. Then again, our commen-

tators had little hesitation in making such confusion. Thus Hemacandra, a very great commentator, identified Kauṭilya with no less than eight persons :

वात्स्यायनो मल्लनागः कुटिलश्चणकात्मजः ।

द्रामिलः पल्लिखामी विष्णुगुप्तोऽङ्गुलब सः ॥

Besides the fact that Viṣṇugupta might be confused for Kauṭilya, it is also possible that the high position of celebrated Kauṭilya who originated the *Arthaśāstra* was deliberately seized for Viṣṇugupta who might be a late but famous redactor of the *Arthaśāstra*. The verse which occurs at the end of the present *Arthaśāstra*, and which says that Viṣṇugupta 'did' the sūtra and the bhāṣya seems to me to have been designed in its present form to make it current that Viṣṇugupta was the originator of the *Arthaśāstra* and not only, what he really seems to have been, the redactor of one of the versions of the *Arthaśāstra*. It is also noteworthy in this connection that Kāmandaka, who is perhaps the first man to suggest that Viṣṇugupta was the author of the *Arthaśāstra* and destroyer of the Nandas, was a disciple of Viṣṇugupta and he wrote his *Nītisāra* on the basis of Viṣṇugupta's *Arthaśāstra*.

This type of fabrication by Viṣṇugupta, Kāmandaka or any one else, if there be any, is a thing unusual for us at this time. But it was not so for the writers of the Sanskrit literature at the time of which we are speaking. At one time impersonation by writers was very common in classical Sanskrit literature and it is visible in so many cases. We shall cite here just one instance of a Kālidāsa who should have flourished about the time when the above fabrication might have taken place.

This Kālidāsa wrote a work *Jyotirvidābharaṇa* on the basis of Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*. Out of his gratitude for Varāhamihira this Kālidāsa made him a courtier of Vikramāditya of the first century B.C. in the tenth verse of the last chapter of his work :

धन्वन्तरिक्षपणकामरसिंहशंकुवेतालभट्टघटकपर्कालिदासाः ।

ख्यातो वराहमिहिरो नृपतेः सभायां रत्नानि वै वररुचिर्नव विक्रमस्य ॥

In the 19th verse of the same chapter this Kālidāsa made himself also a courtier of this Vikramāditya :

शंकादिपण्डितवराः कवयस्त्वनेके ज्योतिर्विदः समभवन्श्च वराहपूर्वाः ।

श्रीविक्रमार्कनृपसंसदि मान्यबुद्धिस्तैरप्यहं नृपसखा किल कालिदासः ॥



This Kālidāsa goes further still and claims authorship of the famous *Raghuvamśa* of celebrated Kālidāsa for himself in the 20th verse of the same chapter :

काव्यत्रयं सुमतिक्रुद्रधुवंशपूर्वं पूर्वं ततो ननु कियच्छ्रुति कर्मवादः ।

ज्योतिर्विदाभरणकालविधानशास्त्रं श्रीकालिदासकवितो हि ततो बभूव ॥

(4) It has been shown above that there is not much ground for identification of Viṣṇugupta with Kauṭilya or Cāṇakya. The name of Viṣṇugupta first occurs in the present *Arthaśāstra* where he is not necessarily identical with Kauṭilya. The old historical as well as other literature compiled upto about 4th century A.D. also does not know of Viṣṇugupta. The name Viṣṇugupta appears for Kauṭilya only after 6th-7th century A.D. At this time it was usual for the commentators and writers of the Sanskrit literature to make fabrications about identifications of the literateurs and authorship of the works. Under these circumstances it is not quite unlikely that Viṣṇugupta's identification with Kauṭilya is a later fabrication. It may be interesting to point out in this connection that just before the appearance of Viṣṇugupta in the Kauṭilyan tradition, there had been actually a learned scholar by the name of Viṣṇugupta as attested to by no less than three references to him in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* of Varāhamihira<sup>14</sup>. This Viṣṇugupta is said to be an ācārya, and an eminent scholar like Varāhamihira quotes his opinions. This shows that Viṣṇugupta was a famous scholar. Varāhamihira has nothing to indicate that this Viṣṇugupta has anything to do with Cāṇakya or Kauṭilya. It is possible that upto his time, i.e. about 5th-6th century A. D. Viṣṇugupta was not identified with Cāṇakya or Kauṭilya. But the commentator Bhaṭṭotpala commenting on these verses of Varāhamihira which refer to Viṣṇugupta says that this Viṣṇugupta was connected with Cāṇakya. At one place he says:

किन्तु विष्णुगुप्तेनापि चाणक्यापरनाम्नैवमुक्तं — *Bṛhajjā*, VII, 7.

and at another place he says that:

विष्णुगुप्तचाणक्यावाहतुः — *Bṛhajjā*, XXI, 3.

The commentator clearly seems to connect Viṣṇugupta with Cāṇakya. It is not impossible that by his time Viṣṇugupta known to Varāhamihira might have been identified with Cāṇakya or Kauṭilya.

KAILASH CHANDRA OJHA

## MISCELLANY

### Fanciful Derivation of Words

The habit of indulging in fanciful derivation of words is perhaps almost co-eval with the existence of language and literature. Such derivations do not pay any heed to the strict rules of philology or grammar, but are suggested by similarity of sound and accent and are of the nature of pun, or by some other exigencies.

When Alexander came to India he and his companions were "ready to seek an echo of Greek words in the Indian appellations as they heard." The Sanskrit name of the Chenab, river Asiknī, was changed into Greek *Akesines*, the healer, as it and its other name, *Candra-bhāgā* (which they took to mean 'the eater of Alexander, Grk. Sandarophagus'), seemed to them to be inauspicious. So the evil portent of the Sanskrit name was charmed away by its auspicious Greek rendering.<sup>1</sup>

In this paper I want to offer some observations on the following words.

(1) *OM* ॐ

Originally *om*=*ām*, and may be derived from *ā*, signifying 'yes'. Winternitz (*History of Indian Literature*, vol. I, pp. 185, 186) says that this most sacred syllable was originally nothing but an expression of assent and refers to *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VII. 8 and *Chāndogya* 1.1.8. *Om* is the response to a *ṛc*; "Be it so" to a *gāthā*. *Om* is divine, yes, human. When the *hotar* recites a *R̥g* verse, the *adhvaryu* cries at the conclusion *om*, when he recites an epic verse, he cries yes. Subsequently it acquired a sacred and mystic character. "In the Upaniṣads it is identified with Brahman, the world-soul and recom-

<sup>1</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, 1929—Sir Aurel Stein's *Alexander's Campaign on the N.W. Frontier*, pp. 29, 30; footnotes 58 and 59; also f.n. 26 on p. 12: "See S. Levi, *Le Catalogue géographique des Yakṣa dans la Mahāmāyūri*, *JA.*, 1915—jan.-fevr., pp. 105 sq. There too it has been convincingly shown that the form *Udyāna* ("the garden") commonly accepted by European scholars as the Sanskrit name of Swāt is but an *idolum libri*, based upon a learned popular etymology which a gloss on the Chinese notice of Swāt in Hsüan-tsang's *Hsi-yü-chi* first records."

mended to the wise man as the highest object for meditation. The *Kaṭha-Upaniṣad* (II. 16) says of it : 'The syllable is indeed Brahman, this syllable is the highest, for he who knows this syllable will have all his wishes, whatever they may be, fulfilled.'"<sup>2</sup>

Then arose learned speculation as to its derivation, which varied according to the varying character of doctrinal espousal. The *Tripura-tāpinī-upaniṣad* of the *Atharvaveda* gives the philological derivation—अकार उकार मकार इति तेनैक्या सम्भवति तद् ओम् इति. In the *Māṇḍūkya* we get : सोऽयमात्माऽध्यक्षरमोकारऽधिमात्रम् पादा मात्रा मात्राश्च पादा अ-कार उ-कार म-कार इति.....जागरितस्थानो वैश्वानरोऽकारः । स्वप्नस्थानस्तैजस उ-कार and सुषुप्तस्थानः प्राज्ञो मकारः etc. We get a metaphysical analysis here.

In Brahmanic theology, according to one version अ stands for Viṣṇu, उ for Maheśvara and म् for Brahmā ; according to another अ for Viṣṇu, उ for Brahmā and म् for Maheśvara [ अथ उथ मथ तेषां समाहारः । विष्णु-महेश्वर-ब्रह्मरूपत्रयात्मके ईश्वरे । ब्रह्मोकारोऽत्र विज्ञेयः अकारो विष्णुरुच्यते महेश्वरो मकारस्तु लयमेकल तत्त्वतः ].

With the mystic *om* originated the Bījākṣaras or root-letters which went to the composition of *mantras* relating to several deities in whose *upāsana* or worship they were used. There grew up a large number of so-called Upaniṣads said to be affiliated to the *Atharvaveda*, e.g. *Rāmarahasya-Upaniṣad* (in which the *bījākṣara* of Rāma was made up of 47 letters), *Sītopeniṣad* (relating to Sītā), *Mahānārāyaṇopeniṣad* etc.

N. K. Venkaṭeśam Pantulu says :<sup>3</sup>

"The *Mahānārāyaṇopeniṣad* seems in fact to be the finest product of the Upaniṣadic literature of the Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Śākta and Sauracults of the modern age. *Rāma-tāpinīya-Upaniṣad* of the *Atharvaveda* mentions these four cults and also the fifth Gāṇapatīya cult. In the *Gāṇapatīya-Upaniṣad* of the Yajurveda, Gaṇapati is referred to as Śakti.

"The climax of the Mantra Śāstra seems to have been reached in the *Śāṇḍilyopeniṣad* of the *Atharvaveda* where the *upāsana* of AUM is made identical with the *upāsana* of Devī, for it says that the Bāla Gāyatrī is represented by A, Sāvitrī is represented by U, and Sarasvatī is represented by M. and that AUM Pranava is *Parama Iyoti* in the form of Devī."

<sup>2</sup> एतद्धेतवाक्षरं ब्रह्म ह्येतदेवाक्षरं परं etc.

<sup>3</sup> Proc. of Ninth A.I.O. Conference, pp. 177-79.

Thus we see how a syllable originally signifying a mere assent acquired later on a mystic and esoteric significance, was given a fanciful philological derivation and was exploited by various agencies to bear interpretation ranging from the absolute Brahma to diverse deities of diverse religious cults and sects. The character of these later Upaniṣads is revealed by their affiliation to the *Atharvaveda*—the magic book *par excellence*. All this culminated in *Tantrikism*. The Jainas allowed themselves to be overwhelmed by this influence.

To show to what length such philological speculation could go I am quoting A. Govindacharyya who has written an article named *Vedānta and Christian Parallel*:

“Coming to the sacred Vedantic syllable AUM the mystery of the Trinity becomes apparent when A stands for Godhead, M for man or manhood, and U is expressive of the relation between them. In figurative language A is the Father (*pitā*) in one aspect ; M is Son (*putra*) in one aspect (there are eight more aspects), and U is the Logoi, nexus, Lakshmī, Śrī or the Mother”<sup>4</sup>

The Jainas have suited the derivation to the exigency of their own creed, and derive it thus:  $a + a + ā + u + m$  representing the initials of the five Parameṣṭhis, viz., *Arhat*, *Āsarīra* (or *Āsarīrī*, *Apunarbhava* or *Siddha*), *Ācārya*, *Upādhyāya* and *Mūni* (or *Sādhu*),

See Dict. *Abhidhāna-rājendra*:

अथ अथ आथ उथमृच द्वन्द्वः । परमेष्ठिपञ्चके, “ॐ भू-भुवः स्वः तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं” ओमिति परमेष्ठिपञ्चकमाह । कथमिति चेदुच्यते । अ इति अर्हत आद्यक्षरं । अ इत्य-शरीरा इत्यस्य सिद्धवाचकस्य आद्यक्षरं । आ इत्याचार्यस्याद्यक्षरं । उ इत्युपाध्याय-स्याद्यक्षरं । मृ इति मुनीत्यस्याद्यक्षरं अ अ आउम् इति ततः सन्धिवशात् ओमिति ।

In Prakrit:

अरिहन्ता-असरीरा-आयरिय-उवज्जाय मुणियो ।

पंचक्खरो निप्पन्नो ँकारो पंचपरमेट्ठोति ॥

The alternative mystic symbol is *a-si-ā-u-sā*, composed of the initial letters of *arhat*, *siddha*, *ācārya*, *upādhyāya* and *sādhu*.

The invocation is:

णमो अरिहन्तानं ( or अरहन्ताणं ),

णमो सिद्धाणं ,

णमो आयरियाणं ( or आयरियाणं ),

एमो उवज्झायाणं ,  
एमो लोये सव्वसाह्वणं

The quintessence of *namaskāra mantra* is represented by ॐ, the concentrated form of the *Mūlamantra* containing the substance of the fourteen Pūrvas. It is to the Jainas, as to the Hindus, the Highest Being (Parameśvara or Paramātman). The Yogin fixes his mind on the point.

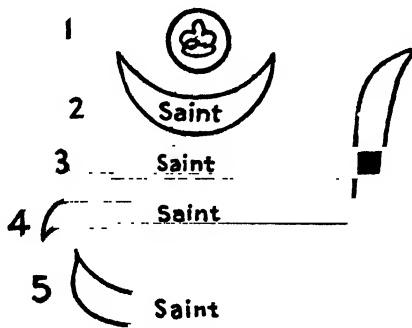
*Okāraṃ bindusaṃyuktaṃ nityaṃ dhyāyanti yoginab ।*

*Kāmadam mokṣadam caiva omkāraya namo namah ॥*

[ There are different readings: The *omkāraṃ* of the first line is written as (1) ॐ and (2) ओंकारम and in the second line in the reverse order ].

Gradually came the evolution of *tattvas*, e.g., (A) the *devatattva* combining (1) *aribanta* (*jīvanmukta*, *sarvajña* in *paramaudārika śarīra*, omniscient in superhuman body ) and (2) *aśārīra* ( or *siddha*, *videha-mokṣa*)—the two representing the *saguṇa* and *nirguṇa deva* ; (B) the *gurutattva* combining 3, 4, 5—*ācārya*, *upādhyāya* and *sādhu*, and (C) the *dharmatattva* combining (A) and (B).

In the Śvetāmbara shrines (see Burgess) the Jain *omkāra* is represented like



There is an image of saint in the dot, so underneath him one saint each in the horn of the *candra*, in the two bars and in the lowermost curve, representing the five grades of attainment, viz., *arhat* (in the *bindu* of black marble), *ācārya* (in the horn of the moon in yellow stone), *siddha* (bar in red stone), *upādhyāya* (in yellow stone) and *muni* (in the curve which is entirely of black marble).<sup>5</sup>

It came to be drawn in other ways, e.g., in angular way (for which see Von Gläsenapp, *Der Jainismus*, p. 384).

5 The order of gradation seems to be disturbed.

Thus *om* started the process of *bijākṣaras*, such as *brīm*, *klīm* etc., leading to the growth and development of *mantraśāstra* and Jain *tantrikism* in the middle ages. Cṛṅkāra also figured in *yantras*, e.g., *Siddhacakra*, *Pañcatīrtha* plates and so on. It was also invoked in magic incantations :

(a) ॐ ह्रीं अ-सि-आ-उ-सा अनाहत विज्ञोर्हा नमः । लाभमन्त्र ।

(b) ॐ नमो अरि अरिणमोहिनि मोहयमोहयस्वाहा तेनैव स्त्री-पुंस-वश्यता ।

For a *brīmākāra* representation see von Glasenapp *op. cit.* p. 385 giving a drawing of the combination of sounds *b, r, ī, m* over which is a crescent with a dot to indicate the released soul in *īṣat-prāgbbhāra*. See also Coomaraswamy, *Jain Paintings and Mss*, plate 9ff. pl. 39—Quoted in Brown's *Story of Kālaka*.

## (2) *Mānuṣa*

The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* in connection with the legend of Prajapati's illicit passion for his daughter—the Sky or Dawn—declares that the seed or the germinal fluid of Prajāpati became the *mānuṣa*. The gods said (according to another version Prajapati said): ‘मेद् प्रजापते रेतो दुषद्’<sup>1</sup>. Let not the seed of Prajapati be spoiled. From *mā duṣad* the sperm itself became the *mānuṣa*. From similarity of sounds and a pun followed a fanciful identification of *māduṣad* with *mānuṣa*. Such fantastic derivations are often found in the *Brāhmaṇas*<sup>6</sup>.

## (3) *Arha*

*Arha* (with its variants *arbat*, *arhan*) means deserving, worth, worthy of (According to P. T. S. Pāli Dict. Vedic *arha* of *arh*). Thus *Arhat* means one who deserves *pūjā*.

The *Abhidhānarājendra* (Jain Dict.) says:

अर्हत्-अशोकाद्यष्टमहाप्रातिहार्यादिरूपां  
पूजामर्हतीत्यर्हन् (कल्प, स्था, etc).

So also *Nandisūtra* (p. 191 (b) आगमोदयसमिति edn) with the following additional gloss: ते चार्हन्तः कैश्चिच्छुद्धद्वयास्तिकनयमतानुसारिभि अनादि-सिद्धा एव मुक्तात्मानोऽभ्युपगम्यन्ते, तथा च ते पठन्ति

‘ज्ञानमप्रतिघं यस्य वैराग्यं च जगत्पते: ।

तेश्चैव धर्मश्च सहसिद्धं चतुष्टयं ॥

6 See Proc. of 12th Session of A.I.O.C., p. 243.

इत्यादि एवं रूपाश्चापि ते बहव इष्यन्ते स्थापनादिद्वारेण च विशिष्टां पूजामर्हन्ति ततोऽर्हन्तोऽप्युच्यन्ते ।

(See also *Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā* and Hem. 2-111)

*Arha* becomes *araba*, retaining the same sense of “deserving *pūjā*”. But once this form of *araba* is attained, it starts two more derivations, viz. (1) अ-रह (अ-रहस्, न विद्यते रह एकान्तगोप्यमस्य ; (2) न विद्यते रहो विजनस्य सर्वज्ञत्वादसावहः-ठा. ६), (3) अ-रह (अ-रथ, परिग्रहरहितः)

The variant form *arabanta*—(1) *arb*, one who deserves *pūjā*, (2) *arobantar*, one from whom nothing is hidden, omniscient Jina, (3) *arathānta*, one who has no desire nor attachment, and (4) *arabayat*, one who does not forsake his own nature.

From *arabanta* the variant form *aribanta* is obtained and forthwith gives rise to further learned phantasies, the word being construed as *ari*, enemy, and *banta*, *bantr*, killer.

The A. R. says:

‘सम्प्रति प्राकृत-शैल्या अनेकधा’ अर्हच्छब्द-निरुक्त-सम्भव इति दर्शयन्नाह—  
इदिय विसयकसाए, परोसहवेयणाए उवसगगे । ए-ए अरिणो हंता, अरिहंता तेन बुचंति ॥

एतेषामरीणां हन्तारोऽर्हन्ता इति पृषोदरादित्वादादिष्टरूप-निष्पत्तीति etc.

Similarly, in Pāli the word “*ari* is used in exegesis and word explanation, thus in etymology of *arabant*”.

“*Arī hatattā* in phrase, अरोहत्ता अरियो होति at A. IV. 145 is wrong reading for अरीनम् हतत्ता. The whole phrase is inserted by mistake from a gloss explaining *arabā* in the following sentence “आरक्ता क्लेशानं अरीनं हतत्ता...अरहा होति”,—P. T. S. Pāli Dict.

The Tibetans have taken *arbat* (*pūjya*, venerable) in the sense of *aribanta*, victor or extirpator of enemy and render it as *dgra-bcom-pa*, *dgra*, enemy (the passions) and *bcom-pa*, conqueror, *bhagavanto* meaning to them victorious too (cf. the invocation of the Buddha, नमो तस्स भगवतो अरहतो सम्मासम्बुद्धस्स).

#### (4) *Samaṇa*

*Samaṇa* is *Śramaṇa*. deriv. आरम्यतीति श्रमणः, lit. meaning is ‘one who is tired’, usually taken to mean a bhikṣu or Buddhist monk. Pāli Dict. says: [Bsk. *Śramaṇa*, from *śram*, but mixed in meaning with *śam*]  
—a wanderer, recluse, A.1.67.—an etymology of the word, DhA iii. 84 “समित-पापत्ता समणो”, cf. Dh. 265, समितत्ता पापानं समणोति पबुचति”.

*Samatā*—equality, evenness, Vin. 1. 183 ; A III. 375. There *śramaṇa*, *samaṇo* is so called (a) because he expels (controls, *śam*) sins (*Db.*), or (b) because he has attained equality, i.e., looks upon all as equal. This latter sense is also attached to the word by the Jainas, cf. *A. R.* : समिति समतया शत्रुमित्रादिषु अणिति प्रवर्तते इति समणः प्राकृतया सर्वत्र समणति । Schā, 4 ; Thā 4, U). अणित्यनेकार्थत्वाद् धातूनाम् प्रवर्तते इति समणो निरुक्ति वशात्

(a) समणति सर्वजीवेषु समत्वेन सममनतीति समणः इत्येको पर्यायो दर्शितः,

(b) एवं समं मनोऽस्येति समणा इत्यन्योऽपि पर्यायो भवत्येवेति दर्शयन्नाह नत्थि य से कोइ वेसो पि-ओ अ सव्वेसु चेव जीवेषु ।

ए-एन होइ समणो, एसो अन्नवि पज्जाओ ॥

वेसो=देव्यः

Let me quote the following passages in support of the meanings quoted above :

(a) समयाये समणो होइ बम्भचरेण बम्भणो (Uttarā. 25.32)

(b) न हणइ न हणावेइ य, सम मनइ तेन सो समणो } (Anuyoga°. Pramāṇa° —129 and 132)

(c) सयणे यजणे य समो य माणावमाणेसु

The *A. R.* has other meanings :

(a) श्रममाणयति पञ्चेन्द्रियाणि मनश्चेति,

(b) संसारविषयस्त्रिभो भवति तपस्यतीति वा नन्दादित्वात् कर्तर्यनट् ।

### (5) *Māhāṇa*

*Māhāṇa* is brāhmaṇa, but another interpretation has been put on it.

*Māhāṇa* < bam'haṇa < bahmaṇa < brāhmaṇa ब्रह्मवेत्ति य स. The Jaina exegesis imports a fanciful derivation as mā + haṇ. cf. *A. R.* : मा हनेत्येवं योऽन्यं प्रति वक्ति स्वयं हनणनिवृत्तः सन्नसौ माहणः

Amongst many other definitions of Brāhmaṇa given in the *Uttarā-dhyāna* and the *Dhammapada* the following two have been framed to support the popular etymology of mā haṇa.

तसपाणे विपाणेत्ता संगहेण य थावरे ।

जो न हिंसइ तिविहेण तं वयं बूम माहणं—*Uttarā*, 25. 23

निधाय दण्डं भूतेसु तसेसु थावरेसु च ।

यो न हन्ति न घातेति तमहम् बूमि ब्राह्मणं ॥—*Dhammapada* (406), 26. 23

I have already pointed out<sup>7</sup> how according to the *Āśvākyasūtra* Bharata asked the Śravakas to warn him—“जितो भवान्, वर्धते भयं तस्मान् मा हन मा हनेति” and this is how the Brāhmaṇas came into existence !

KALIPADA MITRA



## The Harṣa Era

In a note on "Harṣa's Accession and the Harṣa Era," published in this Quarterly (XXVII, p. 321), Dr. D. C. Sircar has criticised my views on the subject published in the preceding issue (XXVII, p. 183). To use an expression frequently applied by Dr. Sircar to theories of others, I can only say that his views seem to be "entirely unwarranted."

First, as to the date of Harṣa's death. Even if we agree with Dr. Sircar (p. 321) that Hiuen Tsang did not know of Harṣa's death when he submitted his records to the Chinese Emperor, the only reasonable conclusion seems to be that he regarded Harṣa as still alive, and the thirty-six years, given by him as the duration of Harṣa's reign, must, therefore, refer to the year 648 A.D. when the records were submitted. When a man writes about the age of a friend who is presumed to be still alive, he naturally counts it up to the period of his writing, and not up to the day when they met last. Dr. Sircar's view is therefore "unwarranted," when he holds that "the thirty-six years given by Hiuen Tsang as the duration of Harṣa's reign covers actually the period from his accession to 642 A.D. when the Chinese pilgrim was staying with him and not the period from his accession to death" (p. 322). This statement of Hiuen Tsang is, therefore, hardly "an evidence worth the name"—to use another expression of Dr. Sircar—in favour of the view that Harṣa ascended the throne in 606 A.D.

The statement in the "*Life of Hiuen Tsang*" (p. 183) that Harṣa was "lord of India for thirty years and more" at the beginning of 643 A.D., fully agrees with the natural interpretation of the statement in the *Records* of Hiuen Tsang that Harṣa ruled for thirty-six years when he submitted his records to the Emperor in 648 A.D. But Dr. Sircar, while admitting that the statement in the *Life* is an important argument against placing the accession of Harṣa in 606 A.D., adds that it "is admittedly of lesser authenticity than the *Records*" (p. 325). The combined testimony of the *Records* and the *Life* would place the accession of Harṣa in 612 A.D., but in order to support the "generally accepted view" that Harṣa ascended the throne in 606 A.D.,

Dr. Sircar first puts an unnatural interpretation on the statement in the *Records*, as noted above, and then rejects the statement in the *'Life'* on the ground that it does not tally with the *'Records'*, that is to say, his own unnatural interpretation of the same.

But, evidently realising the weakness of his position, Dr. Sircar seeks to put a new interpretation upon the statement in the *'Life'*. According to Dr. Sircar (pp. 325-6) when Harṣa told Hiuen Tsang, about the beginning of 643 A.D., that he "has been lord of India for thirty years and more", we have to understand that this period elapsed not since his accession to the throne—when he was merely ruler of Thanesar—but since he became "the lord of India" six years later, when, according to Hiuen Tsang, he had fought the Five Indias (or had brought the Five Indias under allegiance). It is to be observed that Harṣa never became lord of India, or even of North India, by 612 A.D. when Magadha and Gauḍa on the one side and Punjab, Kashmir and Gujarat on the other were clearly outside his dominions. The literal interpretation of the expression 'lord of India' is not, therefore, applicable even in 612 A.D., and knowing the general tendency of Indians to describe even a petty ruler as the lord of the earth, we should not stretch the meaning of the expression 'lord of India' beyond its normal interpretation of an independent ruler of an important state. If in 619 A.D., i.e. seven years *after* Harṣa became 'lord of India' according to Dr. Sircar, his rival Śaśaṅka could be described as 'lord of the earth surrounded by the four oceans'<sup>1</sup>, we need not feel any scruple in regarding Harṣa's 'lordship of India' as denoting merely his sovereignty over his ancestral kingdom.

This very natural interpretation is fully borne out by the actual statement in the *'Life'*, *an essential part of which has been omitted by Dr. Sircar in his quotation of it*. The passage runs thus:—"The king said: "Your disciple, *succeeding to the royal authority*, has been lord of India for thirty years and more." The portion italicised by me has been completely ignored by Dr. Sircar, but to every one, who has no preconceived notion, it conveys the idea of Harṣa's accession to the throne.

The statement of Harṣa that he ruled for 30 years is in full

agreement with another statement of his which almost immediately follows, namely, that he completed five of the quinquennial assemblies and was about to celebrate the sixth (*Life*, p. 184). Here, again, Dr. Sircar tries to explain away the plain meaning of the passage by the following observation : —

“The first quinquennial assembly at Prayāga, the sixth of which took place about the beginning of 643 A.D., could have been celebrated only after Harṣa had become formally anointed as the emperor of the erstwhile Maukhari realm covering the U.P. and Bihar, in which Prayāga was situated. As a king of the small kingdom of Thanesar about the eastern part of the Punjab he had nothing to do with the Allahabad region” (pp. 326-7).

He, however, obviously forgets the very clear statement of Hiuen Tsang that Śīlāditya held his assembly “after the example of his ancestors” (Beal’s translation of the *Records*, Vol. I, p. 233). This takes away the force of Dr. Sircar’s argument, and the two statements of Harṣa, taken together, may be regarded as a very strong evidence that at the time when these were made, namely, about 643 A.D., he had completed a reign of 30 years, and not more. This would show that he could not possibly have ascended the throne in 606 A.D.

Against this positive contemporary evidence supplied by two different texts, we have only the evidence of Alberuni who, more than four hundred years later, recorded a tradition which, he heard, was prevalent in Kashmir. Curiously enough, according to Dr. Sircar himself, so little authentic information about Harṣa was available in Kashmir only a century after Alberuni, that Kalhaṇa, the famous historian of the country, who studied all the old records available to him, confused Harṣa with the great Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī (p. 324). It is for the scholars to judge whether, in these circumstances, we can still regard as the most reasonable hypothesis, far less as an established fact, that Harṣa ascended the throne in 606 A.D., even though it may be a “generally accepted view,” and whether the natural interpretation of the statements in the *Records* and the *Life*, may or may not be regarded as “evidence worth the name” against this view.

So far about the date of Harṣa’s accession. As regards the Harṣa Era the position of Dr. Sircar is still more hopeless. Here, again, his attempt to prove that Alberuni knew the Harṣa Era of

606 A.D. is 'absolutely unconvincing'. In the first place, in quoting the relevant passage from Alberuni, he has added within bracket the words "(i.e. the Harṣa era)" after 'Śrī-Harṣa'. These words do not occur in the original, and the addition of these words in a passage, quoted within inverted commas, is misleading and highly objectionable,—not to use a stronger expression,—particularly as that is the very point in dispute. The actual passage, as distinguished from that quoted by Dr. Sircar, "does not" therefore "*clearly say*", as maintained by him, that Alberuni heard of a distinct Harṣa Era commencing in 606 A.D. (p. 322). Starting from this wrong assumption, Dr. Sircar argues that no importance attaches to the fact that Alberuni mentions only the Harṣa Era of 457 B.C., and not the Harṣa Era of 606 A.D., in his list of the Indian eras current in his time. "Because", says Dr. Sircar, "he had already referred to the two conflicting traditions regarding the epoch of the Harṣa era as well as to his doubts about them and apparently rejected at least tentatively the 606 A.D. tradition in favour of the 457 B.C. tradition" (p. 322). The plain fact is that Alberuni never referred to the conflicting traditions regarding the epoch of Harṣa Era. What he referred to was the conflicting traditions about king Harṣa<sup>2</sup>. As to the era, he has referred to only one, beginning in 457 B.C., which was current in Mathura and Kanauj (the very seat of Harṣavardhana's power!). His object was to compile a list of current Indian eras, and if he really knew that there were two Harṣa Eras *in actual use*, it is difficult to explain why he should not have included both in his list of eras. The task which he set before himself was not to accept or reject, even tentatively, the eras that *were actually in use* in his time, but simply to name them along with their current years in the test year 400 of the era of Yazdajird. Dr. Sircar's inference that Alberuni knew of two Harṣa Eras, though he mentioned only one, appears to me to be 'entirely unconvincing'.

As regards the way in which the Harṣa Era of 606 A.D. could possibly have been evolved, Dr. Sircar seeks to refute my arguments by two contradictory statements. About my first argument he says

2 The current view about Candragupta II—Vikramāditya *vis-à-vis* Vikrama Samvat furnishes a striking analogy.

that "if his regnal reckoning, continued by his successors, developed into an era, *as it seems to have been*<sup>3</sup>, there is hardly any question of Bāṇa and Hiuen Tsaṅg mentioning the foundation of the Harṣa era." But then, as I pointed out already in my paper, Harṣa had no legitimate successor. So in the very next sentence, in refuting this argument of mine, Dr. Sircar argues that "if Harṣa did not leave any strong line of successors of his own family, his subordinates, who later became independent monarchs, could have continued his regnal reckoning to give it the character of an era." It is for the readers to judge whether this is not contradictory to the previous sentence, particularly in view of the words "*as it seems to have been*".

As a 'definite' instance of the use of the regnal reckoning of Harṣa by his subordinates, Dr. Sircar refers to the year 66 of the Shahpur Ins. of Ādityasena. One might well ask, if the object of this whilom subordinate (?) of Harṣa was to give the regnal reckoning of the Emperor the character of an era, should he not have clearly referred the year 66 to Harṣa Era ?

But contradictory statements seem to be following one after another. Referring to my suggestion that Ādityasena's inscription might have been dated in the Nepal era, as he had matrimonial relations with the ruling family of that country, Dr. Sircar observes: "The suggestion which is rather strange seems to conflict with the imperial position claimed by Ādityasena" (p. 324). But the use of the Harṣa era, it appears, does not affect his imperial position in the least !

In addition to this single doubtful case of the use of Harṣa era, and the still more doubtful interpretation of the passage of Alberuni, Dr. Sircar has referred to the Indian tradition speaking "of Harṣa indirectly as the founder of an era exactly as the celebrated Vikramāditya." In support of this Dr. Sircar quotes a few verses of *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, referred to above, and a statement of a 17th century author. The latter merely says that Harṣa's capital was Ujjayinī, while the former regards Harṣa as another name of Vikramāditya, but none refers, even remotely, to any era of Harṣa or of Vikramāditya.

Dr. Sircar concludes by saying that he does "not find any evidence worth the name against the generally accepted view that Harṣa ascended the throne of Thanesar.....in 606 A.D. which was

the commencement of an era named after him at least in later times" (p. 327). One might well ask, what is the 'evidence worth the name' *in favour of* this generally accepted view? I have attempted to show, both in this as well as in my previous article, that such evidence as we possess, reasonably interpreted without any preconceived notion, would place the accession of Harṣa in 612 A.D., and that there is absolutely 'no evidence worth the name' in favour of the view that Harṣa's accession was the starting point of an era.

It is a trite observation that the burden of proof lies on those who seek to maintain a particular theory. It is therefore necessary for Dr. Sircar and his supporters to produce such evidence in favour of Harṣa Era as might be reasonably convincing, even if not conclusive. According to Dr. Sircar the Indian tradition seems to speak of Harṣa indirectly as the founder of an era exactly as the celebrated Vikramāditya. It is not perhaps irrelevant to the present issue to compare the attitude of Dr. Sircar (and others) towards these two eras. In the case of Vikrama Samvat of 57 B.C., we have positive evidence of the existence of the era, and also traditions, though late, about the king Vikramāditya having founded it. In the case of Harṣa Era we have no positive evidence of the existence of the era, and no definite information about the date of accession of Harṣavardhana. Yet, even the very suggestion of a king Vikramāditya having founded the era of 57 B.C. is an anathema to those who do not hesitate to defend stoutly the Harṣa Era of 606 A.D. The canon of historical criticism should not be changed according to our convenience, and it would be interesting to know how the case for a Harṣa Era of 606 A.D. rests on much stronger grounds than the foundation of the Era of 57 B.C. by a King Vikramāditya.

It appears that Dr. Sircar has not read my paper very carefully, for he has even ignored the point I emphasised in my concluding para. I may, therefore, once again repeat that it is not my object to prove that Harṣa did not ascend the throne in 606 A.D., nor founded an era; but all that I have attempted to show is that there are not sufficient grounds for the almost universal belief that he did so. In order to achieve any fruitful result the entire problem should be discussed from this point of view, and we must look for positive evidence in support of this belief.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

## A Study of the different versions of the Legend of Naciketas

The *Kāṭha* is regarded as one of the best among the Upaniṣadas known to us. After the *Bhagavadgītā* it occupies a position superior to that of the other theosophical treatises that ancient India has produced. The literary and linguistic interest which centres round this work cannot also be ignored.

The Kāṭhopaniṣad is based on the Legend of Naciketas in the form of a dialogue between Yama—the King of the land of the dead and Naciketas, a very young boy the son of Uddālaka Āruṇi.

At the close of the *Viśvajit* sacrifice, the father is displeased with his son and wants to offer him to Yama. Naciketas in order to fulfil the words of his angry father departs for the place of the god of death. There as a firm seeker of truth he gains the fulfilment of certain desires of diverse nature and object granted to him by Yama. These are the bare outlines of the Naciketas-legend.

Besides the Kāṭhopaniṣad version the legend has been told in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (Bk. III. 11. 8) of the Black Yajurveda, in the *Mahābhārata* (Bk. XIII. chap. 71), *Varāhapurāṇa* (chaps. 193-212) and in the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*. The *Varāhapurāṇa* version of the legend deals more with the description of heaven and hell than the philosophical ideas contained in the Upaniṣad. The *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* version is much amplified and corrupt. So we will leave aside these two versions and for making a comparative study of the legend we will take into consideration only the three versions as contained in the *Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad*, *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* and in the *Mahābhārata* respectively.

From a close study of the three versions referred to above it is apparent that all of them have in common the displeasure of *Uddālaka Āruṇi* with his son Naciketas and the consequent pronouncement of the curse upon him by his father to go to the Abode of Death<sup>1</sup> and the fulfilment of certain wishes granted by Yama. In all these versions Naciketas plays the part of a disciple endowed with

1 (a) मृत्यवे त्वा ददामीति—(*Kāṭha*, I. 4).

(b) मृत्यवे त्वा ददामीति—(*T.B.*, III. 11. 8).

(c) यमं पश्येति पुत्रमशपत्—(*Mahābhārata*, XIII. 71).

religious faith (*śraddhā*) and Yama (*Mṛtyu* in *T.B.* and *Vivasvān* in *Kāṭha*) that of a preceptor.

But the important difference lies in the object for which this perilous journey from earth to heaven is undertaken.

In the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* the highest that is gained by Naciketas from *Mṛtyu* is the means by which he is to conquer *subsequent death* (*punar mṛtyu*).<sup>2</sup> This can only be effected by means of the performance of a religious rite of keeping the sacred fire (*Agnicayana*) which is named after Naciketas. Here the conquering of subsequent death is to be effected by the performance of a rite in accordance with the injunctions of *Śruti* or Veda. We see here that the *Brāhmaṇa* (*Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*) lays special stress on *Śrauta-karma* alone which will result in salvation (*mukti*).

The *Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad* however takes a different view. Here Yama grants Naciketas the fulfilment of three wishes. The last, highest and the best of these is the knowledge of the Supreme Spirit by which one may get salvation.<sup>3</sup>

A perusal of the *Mahābhārata* version shows that the main object was to eulogise merits acquired from pious gifts (*dāna-dharma*). Here Naciketas unable to carry out the wishes of his father is cursed by the latter to behold Yama. The lad at once falls on the ground unconscious and by the grace of the Lord of the Land of the Departed visits certain celestial quarters inhabited by pious men who have secured these heavenly regions as a reward for making gifts of cows. After the lapse of certain hours in order to remove the extreme grief and anxiety of the penitent father Naciketas recovers from his state of unconsciousness and declares before great sages what he himself has seen in the other world about the glorious conditions of the persons who had repaired there in consequence of gifts made by them.

From the above it is quite clear that the *Mahābhārata* version differs materially from the other two versions of the legend found in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* and in the *Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad*. Thus we see that these three versions of the legend are not in agreement with one

2 तस्मै हैतमग्निं नाचिकेतमुवाच । ततो वै सोऽपपुनर्मृत्युमजयत् । अपपुनर्मृत्युं जयति । योऽग्निं नचिकेतं चिनुते ।—*T.B.*, III 11. 8.

3 हृदा मनीषा मनसाभिक्ष्णो य एनं विदुरमृतास्ते भवन्ति ॥—*Kāṭha*.



another with regard to the chief object for which the legend is adapted: the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* eulogises sacrifice (*Śrauta Yāga*), the *Kāṭhaka* the knowledge of the Supreme Spirit (*jñāna*) and the *Mahābhārata* pious gifts (*dāna*).

Due to close affinity of the introductory portion of the *Kāṭhapaniṣad* and the wordings of the legend in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* it is supposed that a knowledge of the latter is presupposed by the former<sup>4</sup> and the last three sections of Book III of the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* in which the legend appears is said to belong to the *Kāṭhaka* school and is a later addition to the main body of the *Brāhmaṇa*. But the above views do not appear to be sound in their entirety. From a close examination of the contents of the above two versions it is evident that the structure of the narrative as it appears in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* is not at all mutilated and thus the thread of the narrative is not broken whereas the *Kāṭhaka* version suffers from the defect of the elliptical style of the *Brāhmaṇas* in general. In the *Taittirīya* version Naciketas before his departure for the abode of Yama, is prompted by a voice to take advantage of the temporary absence of the Lord of the dead from his quarters and the latter's fault of not attending upon a *Brāhmaṇa* guest and seek for the fulfilment of certain wishes by that god.<sup>5</sup> The *Kāṭhaka* version on the other hand announces abruptly to Yama the arrival of Naciketas in the characteristic elliptical manner of the *Brāhmaṇa* literature in general.<sup>6</sup> Taking into consideration all the above facts it is reasonable to conclude that the *Kāṭhaka* version of the Naciketas legend is not at all dependent on the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* legend.

As to the source of the *Kāṭhapaniṣad* legend we hold that in all probability it originated in an earlier *Kāṭhaka Brāhmaṇa* which is lost to us. Moreover the Naciketas legend as found in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* belonged to the *Kāṭhaka* school. If this view is accepted

4 Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 232, 212.

5 तं ह स्मोत्थितं वागभिवदति... । परेहि मृत्योर्गृहान् ।...तं वै प्रवसन्तं गन्ता-  
सीति होवाच ।—*T.B.* III. 11. 8

6 वैश्वानरः प्रविशत्यतिथिर्ब्राह्मणो महान् ।

तस्येतां शान्तिं कुर्वन्ति हर वैवस्वतोदक्रम् ॥—*Kāṭhapaniṣad*

as correct then the *Taittirīya* version does not appear in its original *Kāṭhaka* form due to various points of disagreement between the two as noted before. It is most probable that the *Kāṭhapaniṣad* must have followed strictly the peculiar method of its own school in narrating the legend.

Due to orthographical considerations also the last three sections of Book III of the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* which contains the Naciketas legend is regarded as a later addition.<sup>7</sup> So it is probable that the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* has built up its own version of the legend according to its peculiar ritualistic need out of the materials obtainable in an earlier *Kāṭhaka Brāhmaṇa* the common source of the two now lost to us. The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* has not only adapted the legend according to its requirement but also accentuated the text in accordance with its own method of marking the accents which is quite different from that of the *Kāṭhaka* school.<sup>8</sup>

The *Kāṭhapaniṣad* on the other hand appears to have followed strictly its original source without caring much for the break of the thread of the narrative and has introduced abruptly the theosophical matters to the followers of its own school who are already conversant with the whole narrative according to tradition. Here no need has been felt for rearranging the materials of the narrative.

SURENDRA PRASAD NIYOGI

7 Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 212.

8 The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* follows the system of the *Ṛgveda* in not marking the principal accent (*Udātta*), while the *Kāṭhaka* school marks the *Udātta* with a vertical stroke.—Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar for Students*, pp. 448-450.

## Clive and the Company's Gumastahs

The conduct of the Company's *gumastahs* formed one of the thorniest problems of internal administration during Clive's second government in Bengal. The tyranny of the *gumastahs* was repeatedly pointed out by the officers of the *Nizamat*, yet the authorities at Fort William with all their good intentions failed to stop the high-handedness of their agents.

From a letter received from Muhammad Riza Khan, and embodied in the proceedings of the Select Committee of Feb. 19, 1766, it appears that the oppressions of the *gumastahs* were bringing ruin to the country and injuring the public revenue. (Vide, *Beng. Sel. Com.*, Feb. 19, 1766).

Muhammad Riza Khan's letter throws a flood of light on the tyrannous activities of the *gumastahs*, and is thus of considerable interest. He points out the following forms of tyranny practised by the *gumashtahs*:—

1. ".....in order to purchase these articles, they force their money on the Ryots;" (i.e. in order to buy their goods at a low rate).
2. "...they oblige the inhabitants and shopkeepers to take them at a higher price, exceeding what is paid in the market."
3. "...they do not pay the customs due to the Sircar....."
4. "...are guilty of all manner of seditious and injurious acts;"
5. "...when, at any time, the Malguzary is demanded of the Taalookdars, Ryots, etc., subjects of the Sircar, the aforesaid gumastahs, under pretence of debts due or accounts to be settled, do not let them go, or suffer the revenue to be taken from them;"
6. "...they place their peons over the Ryots and involve them in a variety of troubles."
7. "...they press people into their service."
8. "...they impose many and diverse commands on the officers of the government, the inhabitants, the tradesman and others."

9. ".....they ruin everybody and reduce the villages and Gunges to a state of desolation.

Muhammad Riza Khan ended his account with this emphatic complaint, "It is these iniquitous practices that the people of the country have been ruined and driven to flight, and that the revenues of the *Sircar* have been injured. There is nothing of worth left in the country. If justice is not done in this case, how will it be possible, in future, to collect the duties of the government or its revenues?"

In view of this representation, the Select Committee passed a resolution, recommending to the Board that all Company's servants should be prohibited, under the severest penalties, from lending countenance to any of their oppressive gumastahs. (Vide. *Beng. Sel. Com.*, Feb. 19, 1766). The Company's servants were further required to send in to the President full details regarding their *gumastahs*, the place of their residence and the service they were employed on. (Vide. *Beng. Pub. Cons.*, June 9, 1766). On October 31, 1766, the Select Committee passed the following regulations to stop the oppressions of the *gumastahs* (Vide *Beng. Sel. Com.*, Oct. 31, 1766):—

1. ".....all gomastahs shall strictly refrain from interfering in any matters that may tend to interrupt the collections or disturb the business of the government."
2. ".....they shall scrupulously avoid taking cognizance of any disputes or differences that they may have with the country people, or assuming to themselves any degree of judicial authority.
3. "...in all such points of difference and dispute, whether with respect to trade or otherwise, they shall appeal first to the nearest officer of the government; and, in case of delay or refusal of redress from him, they shall then lay their complaint before Mahomed Reza Cawn, or the resident at the Durbar, or the Council, or the Select Committee."
4. "...whoever shall be found deviating from the evident meaning and intent of this Resolution, shall immediately forfeit their employment and the Company's protection."

5. ".....to prevent any interruption to trade, Mahomed Reza Cawn be desired to issue orders to all officers of the government, to yield every possible encouragement to licensed trade, and to the business of those Gomastahs who shall duly confine themselves to the above restrictions."
6. "Also that Mahomed Reza Cawn be desired to direct the officers of the government to call upon all Gumastahs to register their Perwannahs, or licences of trade, and Dusstucks, at the head Cutcherrec of the Aurung, or district, where they reside; and likewise to order the public officers of each Aurung, or district to send him a regular monthly return of all Perwannahs or Dustucks so registered."
7. "The custom-master be directed to make a monthly return to the resident at the Durbar, of all Dustucks and Perwannahs entered in his office; the same to be communicated to the ministers, whereby they may be able to detect all imposition and fraud, by comparing the monthly returns from the custom-house with those made from the Aurungs, &c."

The oppressions of the *gumastahs*, however, could not be eradicated by such regulations, for they were an inevitable result of the private inland trade of their privileged masters.

NANDALAL CHATTERJI

## Clive and the Company's Fire-Arms

While examining the original records relating to Clive's second Governorship of Fort William, the writer of this paper came across some very interesting and hitherto unnoticed references to the extremely poor quality of both small arms and cannon which were usually supplied to the Company's troops in India during those days. Not only was the quality decidedly inferior, its supply was also uncertain and inadequate, and also liable to frequent interruptions. This is why Clive was more than once obliged to make strong representations about this in his letters to the authorities in England.

From the stray references in the records it would appear that the fire-arms supplied from England had usually two defects. First, these were nearly always badly produced and ill finished. Secondly, the metal used for the manufacture of the fire-arms was not suitably tempered so as to stand the extremities of climate in India.

According to Clive, the reasons responsible for these defects were as follows :—

First, only the cheaper brands of arms were purchased for reasons of economy.

Secondly, the Company did not obtain their supplies from those firms which were patronised by the Government of England.

Thirdly, the Military Store-Keeper's indents from India were not fully and carefully attended to. In fact, in their letters from the public department, the Council of Fort William frequently complained that their Military indents were not properly complied with. This is reiterated by Clive in one of his letters. (Letter to Court, Dec. 9, 1766).

Fourthly, ignorance of climatic variations in India was also responsible for imperfections in the quality of tempering.

That Clive attached very great importance to this subject will be apparent from one of his characteristically emphatic protests to the Directors. It runs as follows :—“Of late years, the bad quality of your small arms in general have exposed your possessions to the greatest risk and danger.” (Letter to Court, Sept. 30, 1765).

It is interesting to note that Clive made the following useful suggestions in regard to the purchase of fire-arms:—

1. "We are therefore persuaded, it would prove in the end much to your advantage, if you purchased all your small arms of the same persons who furnished the Government."

2. "...pay at the rate of twenty seven, instead of eighteen shillings per fire-lock, since experience demonstrates they will continue serviceable for double the time...."

3. "We must request in the strongest manner that you will supply us for the first year with 10,000 stands of arms, and afterwards with 4,000 annually, which will in future answer all our demands, if proper care be taken in the purchase."

4. Clive asked the Directors to send out three or four expert iron-founders from England, "as the casting of shot and shells in this country is an object of importance."

It appears that the Directors took no serious notice of Clive's representations on this point, and the troops never received adequate supplies of arms of the requisite quality. (Letter to Court, April 10, 1767). Even after Clive's departure the quality of the arms showed no improvement, and his immediate successor too similarly complained about it in the following words: "The indent for cannon and small arms, I likewise hope, will be fully complied with; of the former, many may prove useless on the very first trial...." (Letter to Court, March 28, 1768).

NANDALAL CHATTERJI

## A Note on Assamese Manuscripts

Manuscripts are of one of the main sources from which we can derive history, literature, art, culture etc. of our country and as such they are the most valuable treasures of the country. The research institutions of Assam namely the Kāmarūpa Anusandhān Samiti, the Assam Provincial Museum and the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies in Assam, which are located at Gauhati, have made a good collection of Assamese manuscripts. But there are plenty of manuscripts still lying uncared for in private houses and Namghars of Assam.

The old manuscripts in Assamese were written on bark of Sañci tree (Aguru) which were and are still plentifully available in the forests of Assam. The preparation of Sañci bark entails a labourious process of seasoning and polishing the raw slices, before they could be made to retain the ink and colour. The manner of preparing the bark is described in the *History of Assam* by Gait.

The size of the leaves was of various dimensions and thickness. Big sized leaves measuring more or less six inches by two feet were reserved generally for highly revered classics and scriptures and for manuscripts prepared specially for the king and the nobles. The leaves were numbered, the figures being inserted at the second page of the folio. There are also some spare leaves or pages to record changes of ownership or other important events in the life of the owner or his family. These additional leaves were known as *beti* or *betu* or attendant leaves. In case of the religious manuscripts they were wrapped up in a piece of cloth or enclosed in a wooden box. These boxes were again coloured, painted, the picture being generally appropriate to the subject matter of the book itself. The manuscripts sacred to the Manasādevī, the goddess of snake, dealing with the adventure of Behulā and of the miracles of the goddess were wrapped in a cobra skin. The commencement of a manuscript is denoted by the insertion of a benedictory symbol and by the invariable phrase “Gaṇeśāya namaḥ” or “Śrī Kṛṣṇāya namaḥ”. The termination of a book is indicated by the word “samāpta”.

The epics were generally illustrated, especially those prepared for the entertainments of the princes, nobles and principal Gosains. There were distinct communities in Assam whose subsidiary means of liveli-



hood was the writing of manuscripts. The scribe was sometimes a painter himself and if not, a regular painter drew the illustrations in the manuscripts. But it was also possible that a writer could at once be the scribe and painter of his own book. The most illustrated manuscripts hitherto discovered are Hasti Vidyārṇava, Gīta Govinda, Bhāgavat canto X, Lavokuśer Yuddha, Samanta Haran and a few others. Of these the illustrations in the Hasti Vidyārṇava, Gīta Govinda and Bhāgavat are excellent.

The manuscript copy of Hasti Vidyārṇava a treatise on elephant was compiled by one Sukumar Barkath under the orders of King Siva Singha and his queen Madambika (1714-1744 A.D.), the picture being supplied by two court painters Dilbar and Dosai. There are pictures of the King Siva Singha and his consort probably Madambika sitting on elephant in all pomp and splendour of oriental sovereigns. All classes of elephants are illustrated with precision and their ailments and their appropriate remedies detailed in full.

The manuscript copy of Gīta Govinda with the Sanskrit original and its Assamese rendering is another notable specimen. This book was written by Ram Narayan Kaviraj Chakravarti under the orders of Ahom King Rudra Singha 1696-1714. The painter's name being omitted it may be presumed that the author himself supplied the illustrations. There are five illustrations depicting the court of King Rudra Singha. The remaining pictures, one on its page represent the amours of Śrī Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā and other Gopinīs in Vṛndāvan. At the corner of its painting there is a vignette of Jayadeva watching with mind's eyes, as in a series of motion pictures, the creation of his imagination.

Bhāgavat canto X is another Puthi containing the beautiful illustrations. The pictures reproduced here illustrate the stories of Kṛṣṇa's childhood as narrated in Assamese version of the tenth skandha of the Bhāgavat.

The ink that was used in old Assamese manuscripts was made of very peculiar ingredients, the formula of which is known to men of the older generations. The durability is proved by the fact that the writing of five hundred years old are still vivid to bare eyes. The Assamese ink was the product of distillation of Silikha, Terminalia and Citrīna and the urine of bulls. The pen used was a goose quilt or reed. The pictures are available in all colours, the most prominent

of them being yellow and green. They are so fast that a picture about three hundred years old appears to be painted only yesterday.

History tells us that Sañci bark was used as early as in the 7th century A.D. Kumar Bhāskaravarman the ruler of Kāmarūpa of the 7th century A.D. a friend or ally of Śrī Harṣa of Kanauj, presented to the latter "volumes of fine writings with leaves made from Sañci bark with the hue of the ripe cucumber." The Ahoms came to Assam in 1228 A.D. Since then their kings were introducing the system of recording the principal events of their reign. At the beginning of the Ahom rule in Assam, the Buranjīs were written in Ahom language but soon after the Ahom language was replaced by the Assamese. Ahom has become so obsolete now-a-days that it is very difficult to ascertain the dates of the Buranjīs, written in Ahom language.

The earliest manuscripts that are available in the Namghars (Temples) of Assam, are those written by Śrī Śaṅkaradeva and his disciple Mādhavadeva, who flourished in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It must be admitted that the regular literature of Assam begins from the time of Śaṅkaradeva (1449-1568 A.D.). It is true that a few writers of note like Madhab Kandali and Mahendra Kandali appeared in the field before Śaṅkaradeva and translated the whole of the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa* into metrical Assamese. But it must be admitted that it was Śaṅkaradeva who brought a revolution in Assamese literature by his voluminous writings. His contemporaries Mādhavadeva and Rāma-sarasvati also contributed very largely for the improvement of the Assamese literature by their numerous writings.

The Assamese Koch King Naranārāyaṇ of Cooch Behar was a great patron of learning like his great contemporary Akbar. The great Vaiṣṇava reformer, Śaṅkaradeva, flourished during his reign. King Naranārāyaṇ appointed scholars to translate Sanskrit masterpieces into Assamese. Puruṣottam Vidyāvāgīś was entrusted with the compilation of a grammar entitled *Ratnamālā Vyākaraṇa*, Ram Sarasvatī was to translate the entire *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the eighteen Purāṇas, Śaṅkaradeva was asked to translate the twelve cantos of the *Bhāgavata*, Śrīdhar compiled a popular treatise on astronomy, and Vakul Kāyastha was to translate *Līlāvati* into Assamese.

Most of the Assamese manuscripts excepting the Buranjīs (Histories) and the Ankia Nats (Dramas) were written in verses. Reference must be made to *Kathā Gītā*—a prose rendering of the

Gītā by Baikunthanath Kaviratna Bhagavati Bhattacharyya, commonly known as Bhaṭṭadeva, a contemporary of Śrī Śaṅkaradeva. He was also the author of the Assamese prose translation of the Bhāgavata known as *Kathābhāgavata*. *Kathārāmāyaṇa* is another prose work written by Raghunath Mahanta.

MURARI CHARAN DAS

### The Kahaum Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta

Kahaum is a village situated in the Salempur tahsil of the Deoria district (formerly Gorakhpur district in the Uttar Pradesh). On the west of the Stone Pillar there is an elevation, obviously the remnant of a brick foundation, indicating that there was a temple here ; to the east of the pillar there is a pond, quite regular in construction, which lies between the pillar and the village Kahaum ; to the south of the pillar, at a distance of about fifty yards, there are broken images of the Jain Tirthaṅkaras placed under improvised brick structures. The last four lines of the inscription run as follows :

पुरयस्कन्धं स चक्रे जगदिदमखिलं संसरद्वीक्ष्य भीतो ।  
 श्रेयोर्त्थं भूतभृत्यै पथि नियमवतामर्हतामादिकर्तृन् ॥  
 पञ्चेन्द्रां (न्द्रान्) स्थापयित्वा धरणिधरमयान्सन्निखातस्ततोऽयम् ।  
 शैलस्तम्भः सुचारुगिरिवरशिखराग्रोपमः कीर्तिकर्ता ॥

Fleet in his *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III (p. 68) translated these lines thus :

“(L. 9)—He being alarmed when he observed the whole of this world (to be ever) passing through a succession of changes acquired for himself a large mass of religious merit, (and by him) having set up, for the sake of final beatitude (and) for the welfare of (all) existing beings, five excellent (images), made of stone, (of) those who led the way in the path of the *Arhats* who practise religious observances,—there was then planted in the ground this most beautiful pillar of stone, which resembles the tip of the summit of the best of mountains, (and) which confers fame upon him.”

The above-quoted translation is literally correct. But in his prefatory note, by way of explanation, referring to the sculptures on the column he writes, “Of the sculptures on the column, the most impor-

tant are five standing naked figures—one in a niche on the western face of the square base; and one in a niche on each side of the square block immediately below the circular stone with an iron spike in it; which, the original pinnacle having been lost, now forms the top of the column. As appears to have been first fully recognized by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, these are distinctly Jain images. He suggested that they represent five well known *Tīrthaṅkaras*—Ādinātha, Śāntinātha, Neminaātha, Pārśva and Mahāvīra. And they are in all probability the five images of *Ādikartris*, or Jain *Tīrthaṅkaras*, referred to in the inscription itself’.

Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji and Fleet both, supposing the pillar to be a solitary monument, were of the opinion that the five images mentioned in the inscription refer to the five representations on the column itself. This opinion, however, does not seem to be correct. For correct explanation and interpretation of the inscription two factors are decisive :—(1) the internal evidence of the inscription and (2) the topography of the pillar.

(1) There are two significant words in the inscription :—(i) *sthāpāyitvā* (having installed) and (ii) *dharaṇidharamāya* (made of stone). *Sthāpāna* or installation is a technical term which means ceremoniously placing an image (an icon or idol) in a shrine and not mere carving a representation on the surface of a stone piece. The term ‘*dharaṇidharamāya*’ clearly indicates that the images were made of stone (in round and independent) and not on stone; the carvings on the pillar contain only representations of them. Now the question is: Where are those independent images of the *Tīrthaṅkaras*? The answer to this question is given by the topography of the pillar.

(2) The topography of the pillar consists, as already observed, of an elevation evidently indicative of a temple, an extensive pond and broken pieces of images assembled under improvised brick structures. Obviously there was originally a temple to the west of the pillar in which the five images mentioned in the inscription were installed. There is no doubt that the images assembled under improvised sheds are Jain images. Unfortunately all the broken pieces are not available and in their absence it is not possible to identify the five *Tīrthaṅkaras* whose images were installed in the original temple; but it is certain that the broken pieces are the remnants of the original idols installed in the temple.

One more fact is worth consideration. Generally pillars were erected before the temples. They bear either the effigies of the conveyances (*vāhanas*) of the deities (in the case of Brāhmaṇical temples) or some symbols or emblems peculiar to religious sects; in some cases they were *dīpastambhas* and bore niches for lamps. Most probably the pillar under consideration was one of such pillars. It was erected before a temple, facing towards the east, and it bore the representations of the images installed in the temple and a symbol or emblem which constituted the pinnacle now missing.

In the circumstances the conclusion is strongly suggested that *pañca Indras* and *ādikartris* refer to the full-fledged stone idols originally installed in the temple which was built to the west of the pillar and not to the representations on the pillar.

R. B. PANDEY

## Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,  
vol. XXXII, pts. I-IV.

- V. V. MIRASHI.—*The Home of the Vākāṭakas*. Arguments have been put forward in the paper to prove that the Vākāṭaka dynasty had its original home in the Central Deccan.
- T. BURROW.—*Some Remarks on the Formation of Nouns in Sanskrit*.
- R. C. HAZRA.—*Śrīnātha Ācārya-cuḍāmaṇi, a Smṛti-writer of Bengal*. Śrīnātha, whose activities are placed between 1445 and 1510, was the guru of the famous Raghunandana. Through his various works he introduced some innovations in Bengal Smṛti. But his reforms met with opposition from the contemporaries and later writers.
- D. D. KOSAMBI.—*The Sanskrit Equivalents of two Pāli Words*. *Sammāpāso* and *Vassakāra* are in Sanskrit *Samyāprāśaḥ* and *Vaśyakārah*.
- P. K. GODE.—*Rasakāmadhenu, a Work on Alchemy by Cūḍāmaṇi Miśra and its Date—between A.D. 1500 and 1700*.
- R. D. KARMARKAR.—*The 'Puṣpitā Vāk' in the Bhagavadgītā*. The *Puṣpitā Vāk* refers to the verse of the *Gītā* (II, 46), *yāvān artha udapāne* etc.
- M. V. APTE.—*The Flora in Kālidāsa's Literature*. In dealing with flowers and plants, Kālidāsa has given vivid and exact descriptions. The following items have been specially discussed in the paper: kadamba and nīpa, arjuna and kakubha, aśoka and kankeli, tilaka, kurabaka, aśoka and bakula, sthalakamala and karṇikāra, mahauśadhi, santānaka, aśokalatā, candanalatā, sahakāralatā.
- P. S. SASTRI.—*The Rgvedic Philosophy of the Beautiful*.
- D. N. SHASTRI.—*The Sautrāntika Theory of Knowledge*.
- SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYYA.—*The Cardinal Texts of the Yogavā-śiṣṭha and their Relation to the Trika System of Kāśmīra*.
- R. K. GODE.—*History of Wax-candles in India (A.D. 1500-1900)*.
- R. D. KARMARKAR.—*'Dvipadāṃ Vara' in Gauda-pāda-kārikā (IV, 1)*. It is contended in the Note that the author of the *Gaudapāda-kārikā* saluting some one as *dvipadāṃ vara* had in his mind the great teacher Śuka, and not the Buddha.

W. CALAND, RAGHU VIRA AND LOKESH CHANDRA.—*The Śāṅkhāyana-śrautasūtra*. The first chapter of the *Sūtra* has been translated into English.

BUDDHA PRAKASH.—*Poros*. The history of King Poros and the events of his time have been dealt with in the paper under the following heads: the dynasty of Poros, the identity of the Pauravas and Parvatakas, Political conditions of North-Western India on the eve of the rise of Poros, the relation of Poros and Darius III, the Indian invasion of Alexander and the attitude of Poros towards it, the battle of the Jhelum between Alexander and Poros B.C. 326, the friendship of Alexander and Poros and the subjugation of the states of the Panjab by them, the aftermath of Alexanders' Indian invasion and the alliance of Poros and Candragupta Maurya, the conquest of Magadha and the murder of Poros.

**Annals of Oriental Research** (University of Madras),  
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S. RAMAKRISHNA SASTRY.—*The Andhras and Telugus, their original Home and Language*. The Sātavāhana Andhras came from the north of the Vindhya and founded an empire on the banks of the Kistna. The Dravidians living in the area between the rivers Kistna and Godavari came under the control of the Andhras and began to be known by the name of the rulers—the Andhras. Prakrit was used in the area for administrative purposes, but the people at large spoke the primitive Dravidian. It is surmised that when the Sātavāhanas lost their empire and got themselves mingled with the inhabitants of the place, the South Indian Dravidians marked their distinction from the North Indian Dravidians by calling themselves *ten-gal* (= tennugu = telugu) or 'Southern'.

M. MARIAPPA BHAT.—*Words that tell Something about Tuluvas*. Connotations of a number of words in Tulu, one of the five languages of the Dravidian group, reflect the cultural achievement of the Tuluvas who speak the language.

K. KUNJUNNI RAJA.—*Naiṣadhānanda of Kṣemīśvara*. The *Naiṣadhānanda*, a second drama of the author of the *Caṇḍakaśīka* has been described here.

S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI.—केनीपनिषद्वाक्या 'शङ्करहृदयकला' कृष्णलोलाशुक्रमुनि-विरचिता.

**Ceylon Historical Journal**, vol. I, no. 4 (April, 1952)

- B. C. LAW.—*Geographical Aspects of the Pali Chronicles of Ceylon*. The geographical details helping to form a picture of India and Ceylon of ancient times have been collected from the Ceylonese Pāli chronicles *Dipavamsa* and *Mahāvamsa*.
- MARTIN WICKRAMASINGHE.—*Tantrism in Ceylon and Tisa Veva Lithic Diagram*.
- B. J. PERERA.—*The Foreign Trade and Commerce of Ancient Ceylon*. Ancient Ceylon's trade with the empires of the eastern and western worlds forms the subject-matter of this instalment of the paper.

**Journal of the Annamalai University**, vol. XVII, June, 1952

- V. G. RAMAKRISHNA AIYAR.—*The Life and Times of Ativīrarāma Pāṇḍya*. The paper deals with the history of the rule of Ativīrarāma, one of the illustrious rulers of the later Pāṇḍya line in the 16th century.
- U. R. EHRENFELS.—*Ancient South India and her Culture Contacts*.
- R. RAMANUJACHARI.—*Śaiva Siddhānta*. The Śaiva Siddhānta is a highly developed cult of Śaivism. An account of its philosophical approach to the ultimate truth is given under the following topics: Siddhānta conception of the Deity, the Soul and its Destiny, the World, the Goal of Life, Practical Discipline.

**Journal of the Asiatic Society**, Letters, vol. XVII, 1951, no. 3

- P. C. SENGUPTA.—*The Dānavas in the Mahābhārata*. The Dānavas of the *Mahābhārata* have been identified with the builders of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa.
- BASANTA KUMAR CHATTOPADHYAYA.—*The Upaniṣadas and Vedic Sacrifice*. The contention of the paper is that there is not much antagonism between the philosophical precepts of the Upaniṣads and the ritualistic injunctions of the Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas.
- P. M. MILLER.—*The Phonemes of Tibetan (U-tsang Dialect) with a practical Romanised Orthography for Tibetan-speaking Readers*.
- N. B. ROY.—*Shadipur Inscription of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Mahmud Shah*. An Arabic inscription on a stone slab discovered in Shadipur near Gaur records the building of a fortress by Sultan Ghiyasuddin Mahmud Shah in 1536/36 A.D.



- Journal of the Bihar Research Society,**  
vol. XXXVIII, pt. 1 (March, 1952)

- BANKE BIHARI MISRA.—*The Judicial Administration of the East India Company in Bengal 1765-1782.*  
VISHWANATH PRASAD VARMA.—*Studies in Hindu Political Thought and its Metaphysical Foundations.*  
RAM SHARAN SHARMA.—*Rôle of Property, Family and Caste in the Origin of the State in Ancient India.*  
D. S. TRIVEDA.—*Pre-Mauryan History of Bihar.*  
U N. GHOSHAL.—*The Relation of the Dharma Concept to the Social and Political Order in Brahmanical Canonical Thought.*

V. W. KARAMBELKAR.—*The Problem of Nāgārjuna*. Legends connect the name of Nāgārjuna with mastery over the subjects of philosophy, magic, alchemy and physics. The *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* fuses the Buddhist Nāgārjuna and Tāntric Nāgārjuna into one. According to the writer of the paper, there were four Nāgārjunas born in different ages and at different places, the Mādhyamika philosopher being of Vidarbha origin.

**Journal of Oriental Research, vol. XIX, pt. IV**

- A. VENKATASUBBIAH.—*Vedic Studies: VI.* Various interpretations of the word *radbra* occurring in different passages of the *Rgveda* have been discussed in this instalment of the Studies, and its meaning *himsita* preferred.
- K. V. SUNDARARAJAN.—*Sāranātha Lion Capital and the Animal Capitals of the Early Period.* Figures of four animals—the lion, the elephant, the bull and the horse—carved in relief around the abacus of the lion pillar at Sarnath are assumed to stand for four events in Buddha's life viz. conception, nativity, renunciation and preaching. The elephant symbolises the dream and conception of Māyādevī and the bull is the sign of the Zodiac under which the Buddha was born. The horse represents Kaṇṭhaka that helped the *Mahāparinīṣkramaṇa* and the lion suggests the 'lion among the Śākya' (*Śākyasiṃha*). It is surmised that 'in conformity with the four abacus figures, the capital lion has a quadripartite aspect'. The four animals get represented repeatedly in Buddhist architecture and sculpture as decorative motifs.
- .*Inscriptions of the Gupta period—A Study of Proper Names and References to the Gods therein.* The inscriptions of the Gupta time ranging from the middle of the 4th century to the end of the 8th century A.D. reveal the predominance of Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Śiva and Śakti worship
- R. SUBRAHMANYAM AND S. P. NAINAR.—*Buddhaghōṣa—His Place of Birth.* The colophon in the *Visuddhimagga* makes Buddhaghōṣa an inhabitant of Moraṇḍakheṭṭaka. Two adjacent places in the Palnad Taluk of the Guntur District in South India, known now-a-days as Kōtanemalipuri and Gundlapalli, bear in their names the Telugu equivalents for Moraṇḍa, *nemali* being *mora* or *mayūra* and *gundlu* standing for *aṇḍa*. Situated near the centre of Āndhra-Buddhism, these places might have been the birth-place of Buddhaghōṣa, the great interpreter of Buddhist literature.
- P. B. DESAI.—*Tantric Cult in Epigraphs.* Epigraphic evidence is adduced to show that the Tantric cult had spread in many parts of Mahārāṣṭra and Karnāṭakā in the period between the 11th and 13th century A.C.
- K. KUNJUNNI RAJA.—*Prabhāvalī.* Passages from the *Prabhāvalī*, a lost work dealing with Sanskrit roots, are found quoted in Rāma-

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## The Authority of the King in Kauṭilya's Political Thought

In the concluding lines of Kauṭilya's first chapter on law and legal procedure (III 1) we have the following important and oft-quoted verses : —

*dharmāśca vyavahāraśca caritraṃ rājaśāsanam/  
vivādārthascatuṣpādaḥ paścimaḥ pūrvavādbakāḥ//  
tatra satye sthito dharmo vyavahārastu sākṣiṣu/  
caritraṃ saṃgrāhe puṃsām rājñāmājñā tu śāsanam//*

Commenting on this verse Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (in *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, p. 174) observes as follows: "According to the general theory of Hindu Polity, the king was only the guardian of the law, not its maker ; laws depended for their validity on their intrinsic conformity to the standard of equity (*dharmā*) and on the sanction of social usage ; and every decree of the king had to conform to both these sources of legal right. With Kauṭilya, on the other hand, the royal decree has an independent validity of its own ; moreover, its validity is of so overriding a character that it must be taken to prevail against equity, private treaty or contract and social usage". Further after remarking that "this view of the supremacy of the royal decree is exceptional among Indian writers" being first adopted by Kauṭilya and followed by Nārada alone among subsequent writers, he takes it to mark "an attempt to evolve a new norm in civil law" tending towards active exercise of the royal authority by the king and his higher officials. The same view is repeated by Prof. Sastri in another place (*Professor M. Hiriyanna Commemoration Volume*, p. 146) where after referring to "the

unique features" of Kauṭilya's work he says, "The most striking among the features is the exaltation of the royal authority to a pitch of absolutism unknown to Hindu constitutional law before or after Kauṭilya's time". Again he remarks, "Of all later writers, only Nārada accepts and restates this position in almost identical words; all others follow the usual rule of making the king law-guardian, rather than law-maker". A careful consideration of the data available on this subject makes us hesitate to accept any of the above far-reaching conclusions.

Giving the gist of the verses quoted at the beginning of this paper Prof. Sastri says, (*Hiriyanna Commemoration Volume*, p. 146), "Kauṭilya recognises four sources of law namely, *Dharma* (equity), *Vyavahāra* (agreement), *Caritra* (custom) and *Rājaśāsana* (royal edict), and he says categorically that each succeeding member of this quarter overrides the preceding ones". The correct translation of this text appears to be as follows:—"Every suit has four feet namely *dharma*, *vyavahāra*, *caritra*, and *rājaśāsana* and each one in this list overrides those mentioned before. Among them *satya* is established upon truth, *vyavahāra* upon witnesses and *caritra* upon the usages of men, while *rājaśāsana* means the king's decree". From the clear reference to 'the suit' as the subject-matter of this statement and to witnesses among others it is evident that the text deals with the law of procedure and not with the substantive law. This explanation is proved to a certainty by a later verse of Kauṭilya in the same context which reads as follows:—

*anuśāsaddhi dharmena vyavahāreṇa saṁsthayā/  
nyāyena ca caturtheṇa caturantīm mahīm jayet/*

The purport of the above passage is to impress upon the king the necessity of carrying on the administration of justice in the light of *dharma*, *vyavahāra*, *saṁsthā* and *nyāya* which, as we may infer from the following lines, stand for *dharmaśāstra* ('canon law'), *vyavahārikaśāstra* ('common law'), usage and reasoning respectively. In this enumeration of the sources of substantive law, it will be seen, there is not the slightest reference to the king's edict. On the other hand we have positive evidence to show that the king in Kauṭilya's thought, as in the thought of the Smṛtis, is subject to the rule of positive law. Under the title of law called 'Sale without ownership' Kauṭilya repeats a clause which is as old as Gautama-

(VIII 46-47) and Āpastamba-Dharmasūtra (II 5.10.7). According to this clause (Kauṭilya III 16) the king shall recover what has been stolen by hostile armies or thieves and restore it to its owner: should he be unable to recover that has been stolen by thieves, he must make over its equivalent out of his own store of similar articles: should it have been stolen by those entrusted with the arrest of thieves he should recover it (from the latter) and make it over to its owner or else pay its value. [The above follows the reading and explanation of T. Ganapati Sastri in place of the reading of Jolly-Schmidt and the translation of Shamasastri, both of which are defective]. Kauṭilya, again, in his last chapter on the subject of 'extirpation of thorns' (IV 13) lays down the general rule relating to the king's liability to the penal law, which is identical with Yājñavalkya II 307. When the king has punished an innocent man, we are told, he must multiply the fine thirtyfold and bestow it upon Brāhmaṇas after offering it to the god Varuṇa.

What then is the significance of the picturesque reference to 'the four feet' of a suit in the verses quoted at the beginning of this paper? According to Kauṭilya's own definition these involve in the order of their enumeration solemn affirmation (by one or other of the parties), examination of witnesses (for a regular judicial trial), application of usage (bearing on the subject-matter of the suit) and the king's judicial decree (relating to the suit in question). Of his further statement namely that each one in this list overrules those mentioned before, Kauṭilya unfortunately gives us no explanation. For a fuller interpretation of Kauṭilya's statement on both points we have to refer to the later Smṛtis as well as the Smṛti commentaries and Digests. For the purpose of this paper it is sufficient to confine ourselves to one of these items, namely *rājaśāsana*. Brhaspati, while reproducing evidently after Nārada the list of the four feet of *vyavahāra* (*Brhaspatismṛti reconstructed* by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, p. 4, vv. 18-21 and p. 94 vv. 1-7) explains that when the evidence on both sides is of equal authority, the king's decree is a mode of decision, provided it is not in conflict with (the text of) the canon and (the opinions of) the assessors. Again he says that the king's decree prevails over usage when he ignores customs and usages and gives his decision accordingly. While reproducing the same fourfold feet of *vyavahāra* Kātyāyana (*Kātyāyanasmṛtisāroddhāraḥ* by

P. V. Kane, vv. 35-43) observes that the rule which is established by the king without conflict with the principles of reason (*nyāyaśāstra*) as well as those of regional usage (*deśadr̥ṣṭa*) is called *rājaśāsana*. The king's command, Kātyāyana further says, overrules usage, when he declares a certain usage to be opposed to reason (*nyāya*). Emphasising the necessity of the king's conforming to the canon, Kātyāyana further observes that when the king decides suits at his own will in disregard of the relevant canonical text, it afflicts his life and his fortune in the next world, it ruins his people and it exposes them to the danger of the enemy's attacks. Speaking more briefly on this point Vyāsa (quoted in *Smṛticandrikā*, I 23) says that the king's judicial decree applies in the absence of all other evidence, while Pitāmaha (quoted *ibid.* I 59) more explicitly observes that in the absence of documents, possession, witnesses and ordeal, the king is the authority. From the above passage it follows that the conditions for validity of *rājaśāsana* are agreement with the canon as well as the verdict of the assessors (Bṛhaspati), or the principles of reason and regional usage as well as the canon (Kātyāyana), and it counts as the last word in judicial decisions where usages are held to be invalid (Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana), or when all other evidence is wanting (Vyāsa and Pitāmaha). Among the Smṛti commentators Aparārka, while quoting Nārada's verse about the four feet of *vyavahāra* explains (*Yājñavalkya commentary*, p. 597) the priority of *rājaśāsana* to *caritra* by means of the following illustration. It is, he says, as when there exists even a documented regional usage (*deśadharmā*) to the effect that the king's officers must not enter the residences of Brāhmaṇas and so forth and when these officers nevertheless enter those residences by the king's command for arresting thieves and so forth. The same illustration is given by Devanabhaṭṭa (*Smṛticandrikā* II 24) in explanation of the dictum about four feet of *vyavahāra*. In the above passages, it will be observed, the old *Arthaśāstra* rule is taken to mean that the king's order for the execution of a due process of law must be carried out notwithstanding any established usage to the contrary.

We have shown above how the long Smṛti tradition from Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana downwards does not recognise in the dictum of the supersession of *vyavahāra* by the king's decree the king's unfettered right to set aside other processes of law, but on the contrary defines more or less strictly the conditions of its operation, specially

in supersession of the rules of usage. From the numerous links between the Arthaśāstra and the Smṛti legal and political thought, it is not unreasonable to suggest that Kauṭilya understood the above dictum to be subject to some similar limitations upon the king's authority. This suggestion would be in keeping with the acknowledged supremacy of the law over the king in Kauṭilya's thought.

Summing up the above discussion, we may lay down the following conclusions:— (1) there is no warrant for the view that Kauṭilya laid down the doctrine of 'supremacy of the royal decree' or 'carried the royal authority to a pitch of absolutism unknown to Hindu constitutional law': (2) Kauṭilya's reference to the final authority of the king's decree applies not to the branch of substantive law but to that of the law of procedure: (3) Kauṭilya's view as thus explained is not unique in the sense that it found only one late follower in Nārada, for on the contrary, it was incorporated in the whole subsequent Smṛti legal literature onwards from Nārada: (4) to judge from the continuous Smṛti interpretation on the point we may reasonably infer that Kauṭilya contemplated the king's final discretionary authority in judicial administration to be subject to some limitations.

U. N. GHOSHAL



# Abhinava Anyathā Khyāti

## or

## The Dvaita Theory of Error

The theory of Error in the Dvaita school of Indian philosophy is said to be nothing new. It is almost either the *Asat Khyāti* of the Mādhyamikas or a close approximation to the Nyāya theory<sup>1</sup>. It is, no doubt, true that it resembles both of them, perhaps more the Nyāya position so that Jayatīrtha, the commentator *par excellence* on Śrī Madhva's works, designates it as *abhinava anyathā khyāti*. But to identify it with either of them is to ignore its disagreement with each of them and not appraise its metaphysical implications.

In the illusion, 'This is silver', when nacre is so perceived there are the *adhiṣṭhāna* (locus), the sheen in the shell resembling the sheen in real silver, the percipient and his defective visual contact with the *adhiṣṭhāna*. These generate the illusion and the percipient proceeds to pick up the silver, but finding it only shell exclaims 'This is *not* silver, but shell'. At least five theories have been expounded in explanation of this illusion. For our purpose, consideration of only the *asat khyāti* and the *anyathā khyāti* of the Nyāya system is relevant.

The *asat khyāti* holds that reality is ultimately void (*Śūnya*). There is neither the external world nor the inner world of ideas both of which are the product of *samvṛti* (ignorance). Nullity (*Tuccha*), absolutely non-existent, appears as silver in the illusion. The latter is possible without a substrate, as in the case of *Keśaṇḍraka*<sup>2</sup> and sublation is without limit, as according to the Nihilist, it is a bare negation in the form 'not silver'. Nullity, though absolutely non-

1 Dr. R. Nagaraja Sarma: *Reign of Realism in Indian philosophy*, pp. 625-26. "In maintaining a doctrine like that Madhva comes perilously and terribly near the Nihilism of Buddhism which he condemns. That is perhaps nemesis." Dr. P. Nagarajarao in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, vol. XI, p. 295 "The Radical Realist that he is, he (Madhva) wants to give a *complete objective basis* to the content of error after the model of Nyāya school."

2 "Keśaṇḍraka is the appearance of a bright wooly mass when the closed eye is pressed with the finger tip."

existent, can yet be cognised<sup>3</sup>. Jayatīrtha sums up the arguments of *Asat khyāti*<sup>4</sup> as follows: The silver of the illusion must be real (*sat*) or unreal (*asat*) or both real and unreal (*sadasat*). Real, it is not, as it is sublated. Nor is it *sadasat* because of contradiction between its duality. How can the same silver in the same place and at the same time be both real and unreal? If, however, it could be possible in different spatio-temporal settings, it would in no wise differ from valid cognitions like 'This is a pot', as the self-same pot of a given time and place is unreal with reference to another time and place. There are other absurdities too in holding the illusion as a duality of the real and unreal. Then, the cognition 'This is silver' can never be an illusion, as it affirms the real. To contend still it is an illusion because the dual is mistaken as real only would be to accept illusion in part; if so, the sublating cognition should also be an illusion as it mistakes the dual by affirming only the unreal. In fine, this duality renders both illusion and sublation impossible. So neither being real nor dual, it is established that it is unreal. It is not true to say that the unreal cannot be cognised. The very statement denying cognition to the unreal proves that it can be known. The *Anyathā Khyāti* and *Ātma khyāti* imply cognition of the unreal. The former holds that illusion of silver is due to the superimposition on the shell of *tādātmya* (identity) or *saṁsarga* (relation) of real silver elsewhere. Here this identity or relation is unreal. In *Ātma khyāti*, it is said that silver which is mental is mistaken for the material. The superimposition of the externality is unreal. Further, to hold that cognition is possible for the real alone is to deny the possibility of either illusion or sublation.

The Dvaita critique of *asat khyāti* accepts cognition of the unreal and dismisses the rest of the arguments. Substrateless illusion is impossible. Silver is superimposed on the substrate, shell, which is present both before and after the illusion. The very act of the person pointing to the substrate as silver during illusion, picking it up and subsequently throwing it away on finding it to be a shell, proves the existence of a substrate. Illusion without limit is not possible as it is not a 'bare but a significant negation'; the sublating cognition is

3 Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan: *The Philosophy of Advaita*, pp. 78-80.

4 *Nyāya Sūdhā* (Kumbakonam Edition) pp. 54-55.

'not silver, but a shell'<sup>5</sup>. *Sannikarṣa* (contact) is not possible with the unreal and without contact perceptual knowledge will not arise. If ignorance is the cause, there is the contingency of the blind man getting the illusion, for ignorance is present in him.

The position of *Anyathā Khyāti* is this. In the silver illusion there are the 'this' (*idam*-shell), silver and *tādātmya* or *samsarga* of silver. What is really sublated is neither the silver nor silverness nor the 'this' (*idam*) but only the relation or identity. It is commonsense to reject only what is false. (*Asambhavi ca yāvat tu tāvat samparihīyātām*). So the relation or identity alone is unreal. No doubt, the sublating cognition demonstrates the non-existence of silver in the place but that non-existence is accountable in terms of absence of relation of real silver present elsewhere. This explanation is more parsimonious than the denial of real silver itself. It is more sensible to limit the non-existence to the relation instead of extending it to the whole, for it is not reasonable to negate the whole when the error is partial. (*Ekadeśa apavādena kalpyamāne ca bādhake na sarva bādhanam yuktam*). Moreover, absolute non-existence is beyond apprehension. So the sublating cognition, negating silver here, implies its presence elsewhere. Thus the Nyāya theory explains the silver illusion as follows. Defective visual contact with what is only a shell makes it appear as silver present elsewhere. (*Dōṣa dūṣitam cakṣuḥ śukti śakalamātra sannikṛṣṭam api viprakṛṣṭa rajatātmanā tadā darśayati*)<sup>6</sup>

This avowal of the existence of the silver of the illusion elsewhere is due to the Nyāya conception of *atyantābhāva* (absolute negation) in that system. 'Absolute negation is predicated of the *adbikaraṇa* (locus) by particular *samsarga* (relation)'<sup>7</sup>. The concept of non-existence is not an absolute nothing. 'The denial of a thing somewhere carries with it the suggestion that it is somewhere else'<sup>8</sup>.

The Dvaita critique objects to the postulation of silver of the illusion elsewhere, as in its opinion it is *asat*, an absolute non-existent. It takes its stand on the character of the sublating cognition. The latter exhausts itself by showing it is not silver, but only shell

5 *Na ca niradhiṣṭhānā bhrāntiḥ nāpi niravadbikō bādhak* (*Tattvasaṅkhyāna*).

6 *Nyāya Sudhā*, p. 53.

7 M. Hiriyanna: *Essentials of Indian Philosophy*, p. 96.

8 Y. V. Athalye: *Tarka-Samgraha of Annambhatta*, p. 366.

and has no concern with its presence elsewhere. "If I have my eyes open, I can consciously perceive the absence of A in the room ; to reach this conclusion, it is not necessary for me to hunt him up and locate his existence in the universe. Moreover, we shall be leaving the plane of experience, if we sought to relate by way of identity or otherwise, the 'silver' with any entity not within the field of presentation"<sup>9</sup>. It is possible to account for the illusion without presuming the existence of the silver of the illusion elsewhere. No doubt, knowledge of silver is necessary for generating the *silver* illusion and not illusion of any other kind and this is ensured by the percipient's *samskāra* (mental impression) of real silver. To grant the existence of silver elsewhere for the sake of the percipient's *samskāra* is not to grant that the self same silver of the illusion must exist elsewhere. There is no contact between that silver and the percipient. So Dvaita formulates the silver illusion theory thus. The defective visual organ in contact with the shell generates knowledge of silver absolutely non-existent. (*Sukti sannikṛṣṭam duṣṭam indriyam tām eva atyanta asat rajatātmanā avagāhamānam jñānam janayati iti aṅgikārāt*).<sup>10</sup>

Just as the Naiyāyika's anxiety to presume the existence of silver of the illusion elsewhere is due to the concept of *atyantābbhāva* in his system, so too the formulation in Dvaita of the same concept in a different manner influences its theory of error. In fact, to distinguish its idea from that of Nyāya Śrī Madhva designates it as *Sadābbhāva* (eternal negation)<sup>11</sup>. The *abbhāva* in this concept is eternal as it is objectless. Not so in the case of either *prāgabbhāva* (antecedent negation) or *pradhvaṃsābbhāva* (posterior negation). On the presentation of the thing, say pot, its *prāgabbhāva* ends. *Pradhvaṃsābbhāva* begins at a particular time but has no end. The difference between the two is, while the one has no beginning but an end, the other has a beginning but no end. As there is neither beginning nor end in *Sadābbhāva*, it is eternal. (*Niravadbhiko abbāvaḥ sadābbāvaḥ*). That is due to its objectless nature and hence it is called *aprāmāṇika pratiyogika atyantābbhāva*, that is an *abbhāva* for which the

9 T. R. V. Murthi: *Ajñāna, Theory of Ignorance*, pp. 132-3.

10 Nyāya Sudhā, p. 48.

11 *Sadābbhāvaḥ iti samjñāntara karaṇam kīmattham. Yacca anyaiḥ atyantābbhāva svarūpam uktam, samsargapratiyogiko abhāva iti tadapinirākartum (Tattvasaṅkhyāna).*

counter-correlate is an absolute non-existent. The counter-correlate here is always an *asat*. The silver of the illusion is just this.

Such a conception of *sadābbhāva* would seem to involve difficulties: (1) How could *pratiyogitva* be granted without an objective counterpart. (2) It entails obviously a difficulty in explaining *abhāva* like the *abhāva* of a pot, where the *pratiyōgī* is an existent object. (3) How could *asat* be cognised. Dvaita clears them up. In regard to the first it holds that knowledge is possible without an object though not without a content. In the silver illusion, the cognition 'This is silver' has a content but not an object. It is *vastu śūnya*, but not *viśaya śūnya*. *Pratiyogitva*, is of such a nature as to exist without an objective counterpart. It is enough if it could help to conceive an *abhāva*. A *Pratiyogī* need not be an object. 'Na hi pratiyogitvam rūpādivat dharmisattā apekṣitam. Abhāva jñāna upayogi jñānaviśayatā mātrasya pratiyogitvāt'<sup>12</sup>. In regard to the second difficulty, the Dvaitin says it is not *atyantābbhāva*, but either *prāgabdhāva* or *pradhvaṃsābbhāva* "Ghaṭādhyabhāvastu yathā yatham prāgabdhāvādi rūpa eva. Ghaṭotpatteh pūrvam ghaṭo nāsti iti pratīteh ghaṭapragabbhāva viśayakatvam, dhvaṃsānantaram ca dhvaṃsa viśayakatvam, ghaṭa sattā kale tu ghaṭo nāsti iti pratītireva nāsti ityarthab.<sup>13</sup> Still, there could be a further objection. When a pot (A) exists in one place (B) it is possible to say that that pot (A) is non-existent in another place (C). Here (AC) being neither *prāgabdhāva* nor *pradhvaṃsa* it (AC) would appear to compel an admission of *atyantābbhāva* in the Nyāya sense. No, replies the Dvaitin. Here too it is *sadābbhāva*. "Nanu ghaṭa sattā kāle eva ayam ghaṭo atra bhūtale nāsti iti pratīteh anubhava siddhatvāt, tasyāḥ kā gatih iti cet na, etat bhūtala-saṃsargāvachinna ghaṭapratiyogika abhāva viśayakatvāt, etat bhūtala ghaṭa saṃsargasca, aprāmāṇikab, atah, tadavachinna ghatopi aprāmāṇikab iti na doṣab<sup>14</sup>. This implies the principle that the bare is different from the qualified. *Viśiṣṭa* is *padārthāntara* contrary to the Nyāya position. Devadatta with the sceptre is not identical with Devadatta with the crown, though the identity of Devadatta himself in both cases is not disputed. X plus Y is not equal to X plus Z though the value of X is the same in both the equations. In the same way, in the present context AB is not AC. The A of the first proposition becomes different from the

12 *Tattvōdyōta*.

13 *Madhuvasiddhāntasāra*, p. 21b.,

14 *Ibid.*, p. 21b.

A of the second on account of the qualification of the absence of *samsarga* in the place C. Now there is the last objection of cognisedness for *asat*. It is pointed out that though we do not *see* objects like the human horn which are *asat*, yet we can *know* them. *Atyanta asatyapi hi arthe jñānaṃ śabdah karoti hi*. Experience is the evidence for it, when we observe that objects like pot etc. are different from things like the human horn and *vice versa*. Without knowing *asat*, though it may not exist as an object, it is not possible to speak of its negation. *Asadvilakṣaṇa jñāptyai jñātavyam asadeva hi*. The objector is also being cornered this way: “*Asatab khyātyayogāt iti vadatab asatab khyāti abhūt nava, yadi nābhūt na tatkhyaāti nirākaraṇam, yadabhūt tatāpi iti*”<sup>15</sup>. “Non-existence does not mean non-appearance in experience as an object of some apprehension”<sup>16</sup>. For example the statement ‘There is no human horn’ cannot be said to make no sense at all. The human horn may not exist as an object, but these words do convey some kind of apprehension. It may not be exactly like the apprehension of existing objects like pot etc. Yet apprehension it is. Suppose one does not know that hares have no horns. If told of the horns of a hare he does apprehend it as he does the horns of a cow. It is possible to object, however, that though these words convey some kind of mediate apprehension, they cannot do so as a fact of immediate presentation of the non-existent as existent. Experience belies even this. In the *anirvacanīya khyāti*, whose advocate denies cognition for *asat*, during illusion the percipient does not cognise the silver as *anirvacanīya* for, then, there would be no illusion. Nor does he know it then as only *prātibhāsika* for he would not then proceed to the spot to pick up the silver. The fact is that ‘some sensations’ as Mr. G. N. M. Tyrrell remarks, ‘admittedly have an objective counterpart, which is not a material thing. The sufferer from delirium tremens sees rats running on the floor which no one else can see. It would be preposterous to regard these as material rats with a short-

15 *Viṣṇulattvanirnaya*

16 Dr. R. N. Sarma: *Reign of Realism in Indian Philosophy*. The same writer, it may be interesting to know, indulges in a grotesque but forcible presentation of the case “An analysis of instances of productive imagination would convince anyone that a barren woman’s son can marry a barren woman’s darling daughter and in utter defiance of the modern cult of birth control worship most effectively the cult of fecundity” (p. 311).

lived existence'<sup>17</sup>. In short, contentfulness (*viṣayatva*) is of two kinds, one as in the case of pot etc. where there is an objective counterpart and the other without it as in the case of *śāśaviṣāṇa*. *Dvividham viṣayatvam jñāna asādhāraṇa kāraṇa sannikarṣāśrayatva rūpam* (as in the case of a pot) *ullekhyatvarūpam ceti*. The latter is what the percipient gets during illusion of silver. No theory of illusion, it is contended by the Dvaitin, is possible without an element of (*asataḥ satvena aparōkṣatayā pratītibhāsa*) cognition for *asat*. As pointed out above, in Nyāya the *tādātmya* or *saṃsarga* is *asat*. If *asat* is not cognisable that *tādātmya* or *saṃsarga* too, would not be cognised. *Kim ca asataḥ pratībhāsa asambhave tadātmyamapi na pratībhāset*.<sup>18</sup> The *Anirvacanīya khyāti* too, is compelled to admit cognition for the silver during illusion which then is neither known to be *anirvacanīya* nor *pratībhāsika*.

The above exposition will demonstrate the fundamental difference between the Dvaita theory of error on the one hand and the Nyāya and the Mādhyamika theories on the other. The latter is a denial *in toto*. There is neither the substrate, nor the contact, nor the defective vision, all of which are admitted for the explanation of illusion in the Dvaita theory. “*Yadā punah idam rajatam iti avabhāse cakāsat asadeva akhilam iti tadasat*”<sup>19</sup>. “*Na vāyam śūnyavādinah iva rajata jñānam nirālambanam brūmah. Śuktiṣayatām angīkārāt. Kevalam sva viṣayam śuktiśakalam atyanta asat rajatatayā avagābhatē iti asat viṣayatvam ucyate*”<sup>20</sup>. And unlike the Nyāya theory the Dvaitin avows cognition for *asat* and does not grant the existence of the self same silver of the illusion elsewhere or the possibility of perceptual knowledge without *sannikarṣa*. The Dvaita theory may therefore be regarded as an ingenious combination of the *asat* and *anyathākhyāti* shorn of their difficulties. The metaphysical significance of the theory lies in its disagreement with the well-known dictum of Advaita ‘*Asat cet na pratīyeta, Sat cet na bādhyeta*’ which is the support for the intermediate or empirical reality. To Śrī Madhva a thing is either real or unreal; there is no middle position and the *anirvacanīya* reality is his head-ache as much as it is the prop and ornament (*bhūṣana*) for maintaining Advaita metaphysics.

P. S. VENKATASUBBARAO

17 *Personality of Man*, pp. 61 and 62.

18 *Nyāya Sudhā*, p. 53b.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 54b.

20 *Tattvodyota*,

## Some unpublished Documents relating to the French in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa (1784-87)

In the Record room of the Muzaffarpur Collectorate there are among the correspondence of the years 1784-1787 twenty-five documents dealing with Anglo-French relations in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa at the time. Seven of these documents are letters in French from the Chief of the French factory at Patna, one is an *arzi*<sup>1</sup> in Persian from a *gomasta* of the French Chief, two are petitions in Kaithi from some weavers of North Bihar, and the remaining fifteen are circulars, copies of circulars and letters in English from several authorities at Fort William and the Commercial Resident of Patna. The importance of these unpublished documents will be obvious from the gists and extracts given below.

It is rather striking that although the Treaty of Versailles, concluded on the 3rd September, 1783, definitely established peaceful relations between England and France, and there was no lack of willingness or efforts on the part of the governments of the two countries in Europe to promote friendliness between themselves, frictions arose between the representatives of the English and French nations in India shortly after the establishment of peace. The main points of Anglo-French dissension in the post-Versailles years were: (1) the right of the Company's Government to collect duties or customs on the French trade; (2) the exercise of jurisdiction by the French authorities within or without the limits of their factories; (3) the right of the French to hoist their flag at their factories and houses of commerce; and (4) the employment of weavers by the French and the English for the provision of their annual investments.<sup>2</sup>

1 Literally a plaint.

2 Apart from the points of dispute noted above, there was mutual suspicion between the French and the English in South India at this time. Shortly after the Treaty of Versailles the French were not only negotiating with Tipu, but even entertaining the project of forming an alliance of the Indian powers against the English. This project did not, however, materialize. See in this connection Ross, *Cornwallis Correspondence*, vol. I, p. 337. See also *Ind. Hist. Records Commission, Papers read*, 1948, p. 63.



The first of the series of records found in the Muzaffarpur Collectorate on this subject is a circular from the Revenue Committee, Calcutta, to Robert Bathurst, Superintendent over the Collections at Patna, dated 25 March, 1784. Herein the Superintendent is directed to "cause an immediate survey to be made of the actual possessions held by France anterior to the commencement of the late war" in the districts of his division, and to transmit to the Committee a copy of it, particularizing the quantity of land, the limits or boundaries and the districts and parganas in which they are situated. Accompanying this document is a letter from the Governor-General and Council to the Revenue Committee, dated 13 March, 1784. "We are now to consider the Peace with France", says the letter, "as complete and final....." It refers in particular to the 13th Article of the Treaty which stipulates "that the King of Great Britain shall restore to His Most Christian Majesty all the Establishments which belonged to him at the commencement of the present War on the Coast of Orissa and in Bengal", and directs the Committee to ascertain and inform the Governor-General and Council what exactly is to be restored.

The next document is a circular from the Revenue Board, Calcutta, to G. F. Grand, Collector of Tirhut,<sup>3</sup> dated 25 July, 1786, wherein the Collector is directed to conform to the Provisional Convention entered into between Vicomte de Souillac on the part of His Most Christian Majesty the King of France and the Hon'ble Colonel Cathcart on the part of the Governor-General and Council, and "not to occasion any impediment to the due accomplishment of it under pain of the Governor-General and Council's censure". A copy of the extracts from this convention accompanies the circular, and it contains the substance of Articles 19 to 24 of the convention, which relate to the several rights of the French in the Company's provinces. Article 19 provides that "All the inhabitants, whether Europeans or Natives, of the French Establishments, Factories and houses of Commerce as well as of the territory annexed to them shall be under the protection of the French Flag and subject to the French Jurisdiction." Article 20 confers on the Chiefs of the French factories and other French

<sup>3</sup> The district of Tirhut then included the present Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga districts.

establishments the privilege of recovering the debts and balances due from the weavers and *dalals*<sup>4</sup> employed by the French, although they may reside beyond the bounds of these establishments, subject to this restriction that if a *dalal* should have contracts with more than one European nation at the same time, he must "be proceeded against before the ordinary jurisdiction of the country." Article 21 confirms the jurisdiction exercised by the French Chiefs in Bengal over the ryots between the years 1765 and 1778, though the territories inhabited by these ryots may be beyond the bounds of the French factories. Article 22 lays down that "Natives who being pursued by the Government of the Country for crimes, misdemeanours or debts shall take refuge in the French Factories be delivered up .....when claimed by the said Government. But the said Chiefs shall have a right to give protection to Europeans in similar circumstances." According to Article 23, French subjects accused of having committed "outrages against the natives" shall be delivered over to the nearest French Chief for trial," and a French subject having "a similar cause of complaint against a native" shall be tried in the courts of the country, "provided that these cases occur beyond the bounds of the French territory". And according to Article 24, "the other customs not mentioned in the preceding articles shall be continued in full force and as they were practiced (*sic.*) before the War".

The Anglo-French Convention as such apparently removed all causes of friction between the English and French authorities in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. But really speaking, that was not so. Very soon after the signing of this convention a dispute arose respecting the privilege of the French to hoist their flag at their factories at Malda and Chittagong. The French Chiefs at these factories claimed to exercise this privilege ; and when the matter came up before the Governor-General and Council for consideration, they forthwith decided that as the French had no right to hoist their flag at these stations before the war, they could not be permitted to claim it after the war. An extract from the Governor-General and Council's letter to the Revenue Board, dated 13 October, 1786, was sent to the Collector of Tirhut under date the 27th October,

1786, wherein it is laid down that the flag of His Most Christian Majesty shall be hoisted only at the five original factories belonging to the French, viz. Chandernagore, Dacca, Cossimbazar, Patna and Balasore, and at the factory which they have been permitted to establish in lieu of Jogdea<sup>5</sup>. And that in the houses of trade and other agencies belonging to them, such as, Supur<sup>6</sup>, Khirpai<sup>7</sup>, Conicola, Mohanpur<sup>8</sup>, Serampore, Chittagong, Malda, etc., this right shall not be permitted to be exercised. The letter further says that the French authorities have been requested to discontinue the use of hoisting their flag at any places other than the six stations where it is permitted, and directs the Revenue Board to acquaint the Revenue Chiefs and Collectors under their immediate authority with this order, and to instruct them that in the event of the French not acceding to the spirit of it, "not to proceed to the last extremity by taking down flags where they have been hoisted", but after formally remonstrating against this practice to report to the Governor-General and Council the cases where such remonstrances are found ineffectual, and await further orders.

The French authorities, however, showed no inclination to submit to this order. On the other hand, they proceeded to assert their right "at all their Factories and Houses of Commerce".<sup>9</sup> Accordingly in a circular to the Revenue Board dated 9 May, 1787, the Governor-General and Council, repeated their order against the hoisting of the French flag. But the Revenue Chiefs and Collectors were desired in this letter to execute this instruction "with all possible moderation, and with as little appearance or exertion of violence as possible". A copy of this circular is there in the correspondence volume of 1787 in the Muzaffarpur Collectorate. Another document, a circular letter from the Secretary, Secret and Foreign Department, to G. F. Grand, dated 6 June, 1787, explains the Governor-General's intention to the Collector "that if the French Flag has been actually hoisted at any places in your collectorship.....you are to cause it to be taken

5 In the Noakhali district.

6 A village near Santiniketan in the Birbhum district.

7 In the Midnapur district.

8 In the Midnapur district.

9 Governor General and Council's circular to Rev. Board in the Secret and Foreign Dept., 9 May, 1787.

down, and if any attempt should be made afterwards to hoist it again, you are to prevent its success", of course "with as little appearance or exertion of violence as the nature of the duty will permit."

Scarcely was the difference on the question of flag hoisting settled, when a fresh cause of dispute arose between the French and the English in Bihar. In a letter to the Collector of Tirhut, dated 10 June, 1787, E. E. Pote, Commercial Resident of Patna, complained that "Dayal Sing, a Gomastah on the part of Mr. Panon, the French Chief (of Patna) is forcing advances upon the weavers of that district by the means of a Sepoy & Chapperasses—by which the Company's Investment is greatly impeded." This letter, wherein the Collector is requested to take steps to prevent this practice, is accompanied by the two petitions in Kaithi. In one of these, eight weavers of the Hajipur<sup>10</sup> *aurung*<sup>11</sup>, whose names are mentioned in it, represent that they have been weaving cloths for the Company for a long time, and that since Dayal Sing has forced advances on them, it is not possible for them to work for the Company. In the other one, nine weavers of Muzaffarpur complain that Udaynarain, a *gomasta* of Monsieur Panon, is committing the same irregularities at that place with sepoys and chaprasis.

On receiving these complaints Mr. Grand wrote to Monsieur Panon. But the charges brought against his gomastas were wholly denied by the French Chief in his letters to the Collector, dated 18 and 20 June, 1787. On the 23rd June Mr. Pote again wrote to Mr. Grand about the ill behaviour and great irregularity committed by Udaynarain "to the prejudice and detriment of the Hon'ble Company's investment." The matter being referred to Panon, he wrote to Bathurst, successor of Grand, on the 27 June, once again denying the charges against his *gomasta*. On the 29th June Pote again complained to the Collector against Udaynarain who was not only opposing the Company's agents in obtaining their supply of investment, but had hoisted the French flag at Saraisa<sup>12</sup>. Naturally Monsieur Panon was asked to submit some sort of an explanation on these charges, whereupon he made a long recital of the acts said to have been committed

10 A town opposite Patna on the other side of the Ganges.

11 A factory.

12 An important village in the Sadar sub-division of the Muzaffarpur district.

by the Company's servants in his letter to the Collector, dated 20 July, 1787. Extracts from the English translation of his letter are given below.

"I transmit enclosed copy of an arzee or writing in Persian from my Gomastah Oude narain ; you will therein perceive that neither my Gomastah, Dellols, or Peons molest the weavers or any one else ; that on the contrary unwarrantable acts are committed by the English Company's servants who are the accused of my people—the acts such as imprisoning my Dellols ; imposing fines on poor helpless weavers because they work for the French ; withdrawing my Advance Money from them although they had freely taken it.....having formerly been employed by the French ; Money is still retained by the Resident's Gomastah or Dellols ; finally vouchers have been extorted by Threats to prove that the French have never had cloths made in these places ; while it is clear as the light of mid-day that to the Endeavours of the French Chiefs the weavers of Sircar Hadjee-pore and Tirhoot owe their Improvements in the Manufacture of cloths fit for Europeans and that they have worked for us these twenty years."

The quarrel between the Commercial Resident and the French Chief over weavers seemed to have no ending. On the 23rd July Mr. Pote again wrote to the Collector, challenging the truth of the statements made by Monsieur Panon, and requesting that his *gomasta* "is not to be permitted to act thus in uncontrolled defiance of order and decency." The French Chief also, in his turn, did not budge from the stand he had taken. In two other letters to Mr. Bathurst, dated 24 July and 3 August, 1787, he still denied the charges against his gomastas and reiterated his allegations against the Company's servants. It must be said to the credit of Bathurst that he did what little could be done to redress the grievances of the French. On the 8th August, 1787, he issued a *parwana*<sup>13</sup> "directing assistance to be given to the Gomastah of the French factory to procure cloths from the weavers." But neither the Revenue Board nor the Governor-General and Council approved of his action. In a letter, dated 20 November, 1787, the Secretary, Secret and Foreign Department, expressed his appreciation of the Collector's laudable desire to facilitate the French commerce

in Tirhut, and at the same time warned him that 'as an improper use appears to have been made of your Perwannah by the French Agents to the detriment of the Hon'ble Company's Investment, and as the Government wishes to reserve to itself the consideration of the orders to be issued relative to the Trade of Foreigners.....no Perwannah of a similar nature is to be issued in future without the sanction of the Governor-General and Council.' Meanwhile the Board of Trade, in their letter to the Commercial Resident of Patna, dated 10 September, 1787, had directed him to carefully examine the Patna records since 1763 to find out the genuineness of the "claims made by the French for weavers in Bahar."<sup>14</sup> The final decision with regard to the several points of dispute between the French and the English was made by the home authorities of the Company. In a letter to the Governor-General and Council, dated 3 November, 1787, and received in May 1788, the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors disavowed the authority of the Provisional Convention as a national treaty, and directed that "if disputes shall at any time hereafter occur, in which any of the permanent rights of Great Britain are implicated, the final arrangement of them must be left to the Government at home."<sup>15</sup> The Committee invited the attention of the Governor-General and Council to the Convention signed between His Majesty and the Most Christian King in 1787,<sup>16</sup> which "is to be held as the final explanation of the 13th Article of the Treaty of Versailles, and is to be acted upon as the only existing instrument for that purpose." Regarding the levying of customs by the Company's Government on the French trade they admitted the legality of such exactions, but advised the Governor-General and Council to desist from levying the same, considering "this sacrifice as comparatively an inconsiderable one, if it... ..proves to other nations the sincerity of our desire to afford to them the enjoyment of trade in our Indian possessions upon the most extensive and liberal footing." The Secret Committee did not expressly say anything about the right of the French to hoist their flag within their Indian territories, but stated generally that the rights

<sup>14</sup> There is no evidence that the records were actually examined.

<sup>15</sup> Ross, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 338-39.

<sup>16</sup> This convention or treaty was signed between Mr. Eden and Comte de Montmorin on 31 August, 1787. *Vide* Ross, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 326 (footnote).

of factories belonging to the French nation must be understood as referring to the six national factories,<sup>17</sup> and not to the houses of commerce or residencies of agents lying outside those factories. "... .. it is our positive order," they added, "that you do act in such a manner, as that the subjects of France shall receive the same protection to their commerce and the same impartial distribution of justice for the execution of their contracts, that any British subject possesses in prosecution of similar interests."<sup>18</sup>

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17 The six national factories were those at Chandernagore, Dacca, Cossimbazar, Balasore and Patna, and the factory established in lieu of that at Jogdea.

18 Ross, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 340.

## Position of Women as depicted in the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan

During his archaeological expeditions in Central Asia, Sir A. Stein was able to unearth a mass of archaeological wealth (at ruined sites of *Niya*, *Endere* and *Lou'an*) in the shape of *Kharoṣṭhī* Documents on wooden tablets, leather and silk fragments and a few paper manuscripts. These documents pertaining to the everyday life of the people in distant regions of Chinese Turkestan are a storehouse of information regarding social, religious, political and economic life of the area, from the second to fourth century A.D.

The documents under discussion, furnish us with the following terms denoting different categories of women and female relations.

(1) *Strī* ( स्त्री = *Skt.* स्त्री ) i.e. 'woman' in general.

(a) *Veṣī Strī* ( वेषिस्त्री doc. no. 719). The phrase seems to refer to a prostitute ( वेश्या in *Sanskrit*) for we know from the context that two persons took away a *veṣī* woman without just cause and had even intercourse with her.

(b) *Khakhorni Strī* ( खखोर्नि स्त्री ) or *Khakhorna*<sup>o</sup> ( खखोर्नो ). F.W. Thomas (*IRAS.*, 1921, p. 280) identifies the word with *Skt.* 'Śvaśūrāṇī' while T. Burrow<sup>1</sup> (*Language*, p. 86) prefers to read the word as *Khakhorda* and compares it with *Av. Kaxvarda* (i.e. wizard), Arm. L. W. *Kaxard*, *Skt. Kākhorda*, *Khārkoṭa* etc. Thus *Khakhorni Strī* comes to mean 'a witch'.

Abbreviations used:—

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|----------------|--|
| I. Doc. Nos.   | =Rapson, <i>Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions discovered By Sir A. Stein in Ch. Turkestan</i> , Oxford Vols. I, II, III. (Text only). |
| II. Trans.     | =Burrow T., <i>A Translation of Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan</i> , (1940), London.                           |
| III. Language. | =Burrow T., <i>The Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan</i> , (1937), Cambridge.                     |
| IV. BSOS.      | =Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.   |

<sup>1</sup> Cf. BSOS., VII, pp. 780-81. In Monier Williams' *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, p. 337, *Kharkhoda* is a 'kind of magic, cf. *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, V, 238; *Caraka*, VI, 23 has *Kārkeḥoṭa*.



(2) *Kuḍi* (कुडि=कुड़ी in Panjabi) i.e. 'girl'. Also *Kuḍiyae* (*Language*, p. 27).

(3) *Dhitu* ( धितु=Skt. दुहितृ ) i.e. 'daughter', also *dhidara* (doc. no. 279). In doc. no. 46, धिदरे is an epithet used for daughters. The exact meaning of this phrase (i.e. स्त्रियन कोनों धिदरे 2) is obscure.

(4) *Bharya* ( भर्य=Skt. भार्या ) i.e. 'wife'.

(5) *Svasu* ( स्वसु=Skt. स्वसृ. ) i.e. 'sister'.

(6) *Matu* ( मतु= Skt. मातृ ) i.e. 'mother'.

(7) *Mahuli* ( महुलि ). Dr. Luders (quoted in *Language*, p. 111) is against any view of identifying the word with *Skt. Mabilā* (महिला=lady). A mere conjecture can be put forth if we try to interpret it as equivalent of *Skt. mātuli* ( मातुलि=maternal aunt).

(8) '*Aniti*' or '*Anita*' ( अनिति or अनित ) occurs in doc. no. 279. F. W. Thomas (*BSOS.*, VI, p. 521) interprets the word to mean 'wife'. He compares it with the *Pāli* word '*Aneti*', so often used of women in Buddhist works as *Petavatthu* (I, 7), *Sutta Nipāta* (110) and *Dīghanikāya* (II, 245).

(9) *Dajhi* ( दक्षि=Skt. दासी )—see *Language*, p. 27. Also *Dasi* ( दसि ) in doc. no. 621 means 'a slave woman'.

### I. *Position of Unmarried Girls and Daughters*

(A) *Birth*:—Daughters in Chinese Turkestan seem to have been '*exposed to the ground*' (doc. no. 331), the reason of such partial and indifferent attitude is quite obscure. On the other hand, the birth of a son was undoubtedly an occasion of rejoicing and merry making (doc. no. 702—पुत्र जात सर्वेहि षतेन भवितव्य ). In ancient China too, no one was glad when a girl was born<sup>2</sup>. Such was the state of affairs in India too. But there are certain exceptions when a girl was deemed as an object of good omen<sup>3</sup>. For all religious purposes, the Vedic father could regard a daughter to be as good as a son. He had a strong prejudice against adopting a son<sup>4</sup>. The birth of girls as a matter of grief and sorrow was quite natural for in almost all the

2 Lang O., *Chinese Family and Society*, New Haven, 1946, p. 46.

3 Altekar, A. S., *Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*, Benares, 1938, p. 11 note 1, i.e. *Mahābhārata*, XIII, 11. 14; *Viṣṇu Smṛti*, 99. 14.

4 Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

ancient patriarchal societies, the son, from practical point of view, proved more helpful to the society than a girl.

(B) *Control of parents over their daughters*:—An unmarried girl has always remained subject to the rule of her father (till she remains unmarried) in all the societies of the past. In young age she is to obey her parents<sup>5</sup>. From our documents, we gather that it was the father who used to give his daughter in marriage. In exchange, the father of the girl often expected some money<sup>6</sup> or animals (the term '*lote*' being used for such payments, *Language*, p. 115-6; cf. Thomas, *BSOS.*, VI, pp. 519ff) from his son-in-law. It is difficult to say whether unmarried girls had any say in matters of their marriage.

Doc. no. 690 presents to us a greedy father who not only expects but actually writes for presents to be sent to him (i.e. father of the girl) by his son-in-law. Also, a certain greedy father complains for non-payment of *lote* in a case when his daughter (who was of course already married but perhaps left her previous husband) eloped with the son of a potter (doc. no. 621). Since that lady happened to be a major one, her father had no right to demand any *lote* from her husband.

(C) *Sale, purchase, exchange and giving away of girls*:—

(1) *Sale and purchase*:—In ancient Greece, father remained the religious and legal head of the family, representing the wife along with children and slaves. The right possessed by a father, in early Greek times, to sell his daughters and by brothers as guardians

5 For this condition of girls in fourth century B.C. see '*The Ancient History of China*,' Newyork, 1911, p. 284, by F. Hirth; Laws of Manu in India tell the same tale.

6 This custom of 'marriage by purchase' corresponded to '*Maibun*' of the ancient Chinese Society. In old China, the system was very much prevalent down to the seventh century A.D. The Tang Emperor Kao Tsung (650-84 A.D.) gave strict orders that officials taking money from their daughter's bridegrooms should spend all of it for the girl's outfit (O. Lang., *op. cit.*, p. 33). This custom was known in India in Vedic times (details see Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 47) too. Later on the *Dharmaśāstras* revolted against this malpractice (Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 48). Payment of bride price appears to have been the criterion of legal marriages. In first c. B.C. China, no sexual intercourse was allowed until the marriage presents have been given (Granet. M., *Chinese Civilization*, London, 1930, p. 346).

to sell their sisters was abolished by Solon<sup>7</sup> except in case of unchastity. There was no check on the sale and purchase of girls like movable property in C. Asia. Numerous instances can be quoted in support of this statement i.e.

(i) Doc. no. 589. A camel, one year old, and valued at 40 *muli* as price of a girl 4 *diṣṭi*<sup>8</sup> in height.

(ii) Another girl of the above size was sold for a camel valued at thirty *muli* and a Khotanese rug (Doc. no. 592).

(iii) 45 *muli* as price of a girl 5 *tiṭhi* tall (doc. no. 437). A girl was sold at the time of famine in the reign period of King Amgoka (doc. no. 589). A sale deed was signed to this effect. The purchaser was authorised to have ownership<sup>9</sup> of that girl and do whatever he liked with her (doc. no. 589). Also, after the sale of the girl, no relative of the seller or his son or grand son or brother or brother's son or relative or even a dependent could question the sale deed<sup>10</sup>. Anybody violating the decision was liable to be duly punished (doc. no. 437).

(2) *Exchange of girls*:—The girl once purchased was considered to have formed a part of the property (doc. 55 कुडित्तुवि) and could be given in exchange to some other person who could sell her still further to a fourth party (doc. no. 551).

(3) *Girls given as presents*:—In Doc. no. 380, there is a reference to a 'deed concerning the girl given as a present to be carefully preserved ( इत्तं च लिहितग कुडियल्लि डित्तग प्रचेय अनथ धरिद्वो )'

(4) Doc. no. 114 refers to merely giving away of a girl, the purpose of the transfer being unknown.

(5) *Girls given on loan*:—A certain person appears in the court and contradicts the loan of a girl from *Sūryamitra*<sup>11</sup>.

7 *Encyclopædia of Social Sciences*, XV, Newyork, 1935, p. 443.

8 Some standard of measurement.

9 Doc. no. 589 ऐश्वर्यं हुद सर्वे बोग किकम करंनि ; cf. doc. no. 590.

10 कुडिय प्रचे ऐश्वर्यं सियति यथाकाम करंने सियति.....

11 Doc. no. 295, Burrow (*Trans.*, p. 53) prefers to read यशित and equates with *Skt.* याचित = 'borrowed.'

(D) *Adoption of girls*:—The old established custom of adopting children in China served a purpose little different from purchase since it imposed no obligation whatever upon the adopter while giving him complete control over the boy or girl taken into his household. *Mui-Tsai*<sup>12</sup> originally was the term for an honourable form of child adoption. A *Mui-Tsai* originally was adopted at a tender age simply to be brought up as a possible future wife for a son of the house<sup>12</sup>.

In Chinese Turkestan, girls were adopted very often (doc. nos. 542, 331, 39). Adoption was legal only when milk fee (कुडद्विर, cf. *Language*, p. 83) had been paid accordingly. Horses and mares were the main objects paid as milk fee (doc. nos. 431, 45, 39 ; तिर्ष horse and तिर्ष mare as milk fee in case of a slave girl in doc. no. 39). History records two instances in ancient Indian literature when *Sāntā*—the daughter of king *Dāśaratha* and *Prṭhā*—the daughter of *Sūra* were adopted by kings *Lomapāda* and *Kuntibhoja* respectively<sup>13</sup>.

Adopted girls in C. Asia were treated very sympathetically. The adopter could not sell such girls. Neither could they be mortgaged nor revoked from the new houses. Specific instructions were there to regard them as real daughters<sup>14</sup>. Documents concerning adopted girls were kept with due care (doc. no. 331).

(E) *Daughter's right to inherit property*:—

The ancient custom of *bride price* (शुल्क) in ancient India was vitally connected with *strīdhana* (स्त्रीधन). The custom, though an improper one, had a redeeming feature i.e. it helped the development of *Strīdhana* or *Gerade* of Anglo-Saxon Society. The parents, out of affection for their daughters, used to return a major portion and sometimes the whole<sup>15</sup> of the bride price to be enjoyed by their daughter as her separate estate during her very life. If she happened to die leaving some children behind, her father would not object to the pro-

12 Bruno Lasker, *Human Bondage in South East Asia*, Chapel Hill, pp. 52-3; compare note 4 above.

13 Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, III, Poona, p. 675.

14 स कुडि न विक्रिनिदवो न बवोथविदवो नेवि गोठदे दुर निखलिदवो नेवि गोठमि उपेड कर्तवो । यथा तनु संन जनिदवो etc., doc. no. 331.

15 Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 259-60.

perty devolving upon her sons and daughters as they were just his own grand children. A document from Chinese Turkestan too (doc. no. 474) records the existence of similar conditions in that area. Sons and daughters were entitled to equal division (समभग)<sup>16</sup> of their mother's property only if the mother had been married according to the law<sup>17</sup>. In *Rg. Vedic* times a daughter (but brotherless) could even get her share of patrimony (*Rg. Veda* I, 1, 124, 7 quoted by Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 281, note 3). But *Kharoṣṭhī* documents are silent about this matter.

(F) *Inter caste marriages*:—There was no hard and fast rule about the marriage of girls with persons of same caste or profession. We find a monk giving his daughter to a monk in legal marriage (doc. nos. 18, 474). At the same time the daughter of another monk fixed her matrimonial relations with somebody not belonging to the priestly class (doc. no. 621). As already noted above, the daughter of a monk eloped with a potter's son<sup>18</sup> (but this lady was not an unmarried one).

(G) *Marriage with near relations*:—It was very strange to find that marriages could be contracted even with near relations. From doc. no. 32 we know that a person named Sagapeya gave his daughter in marriage to Chinga. In return, Chinga (the son-in-law) was ready to give his real sister to his father-in-law. Soon we notice some resentment against such relations. The Huns in C. Asia did not object to such types of marriages. In first century B.C., a Hunnish chief Jiji by name married the daughter of king of *Kang-gu*. In return the son-in-law (i.e. Jiji) gave his own daughter to the latter (i.e. king of '*Kang-gu*' who was the father-in-law of Jiji).<sup>19</sup>

(H) *Daughter in exchange for a wife*:—A lady from *Yave-avana* (a locality name) was married to a native of *Ajiyama-avana* (a locality name). In return the latter fellow had to give a 'daughter' in marriage to the former (doc. no. 279). According to Mr. Burrow (*Language*,

16 The document fails to show whether the mother here was dead or alive. Well she must have expired long ago, otherwise what was the necessity of dividing her property.

17 Burrow (*Trans.*, p. 47) translates the word as 'equal share in inheritance.'

18 Doc. no. 621. In cases of love marriages, caste has never acted as a barrier. Love knows no bonds of caste or creed.

19 McGovern, W. M., *Early Empires of C. Asia*, Chapel Hill, 1939, p. 190.

p. 116), 'as far as one can judge, the dealings are not between families but between *avanas*, parishes or townships. It was necessary that one woman having gone from *Yave-avana* to *Ajiyama-avana* in marriage, another should come from *Ajiyama-avana* to *Yaveavana*'. Another document (no. 481) refers to regulations prevailing between *avanas*. This was the best way to keep due balance between male and female members of the *avanas*.

## II. *Position of Sister*

In a solitary document (no. 420), a brother while on death bed, asked his sister to realise certain loan from his debtor. That sister later on appeared in the court as a witness. Perhaps she had filed a suit for non payment of her brother's debt by the debtor.

## III. *Position of Mother*

The documents are absolutely silent about the status and position of mothers in the society. From certain letters addressed by the sons to their parents, frequent mode of address for the mother used to be 'dear mother' (प्रिय मत्तु—doc. no. 164), indicating thereby that mother was always a source of love and affection. Sons and daughters were legal heirs to the property of their mothers (doc. no. 474). An equal division of mother's property among her issues was desired (see note 17 above).

## IV. *Position of Wife*

(a) There is not much to say about the rights and privileges of wife as such as in Central Asian Society. From doc. no. 621 we are able to know that a certain husband fell in love with another lady. In his madness, he eloped with the lady leaving his previous wife and children behind. In doing so, the fellow lost all claims over the previous wife. Also a wife and a husband (doc. no. 34) had once divorced each other but became united again. Again they were intending to demand divorce<sup>20</sup>. Divorce by mutual agreement, still frowned upon in India, has been recognised in China since Feudal Period (O. Lang, *op. cit.*, p. 40). Egyptian wife had full

<sup>20</sup> *Trans.*, p. 8. Burrow derives the word विवेग (=Skt. विवेक) from वि√विच्, to divide, separate from. Hence विवेग=विवेक=divorce.

rights of property with testamentary powers and could protect these rights and guard against arbitrary divorce by means of pre-nuptial contracts (*Encyclopaedia Soc. Sc., op. cit.*, p. 443). We have already seen (doc. 621) how both divorce and remarriage were permissible for grown up male and female persons.

(b) *Property rights*:—Daughters and wives in China were devoid of such privileges. Even among the wealthy classes, wife as a rule did not come to her husband's family with a dowry in the western sense of term. She brought jewels, clothes and furniture, but 'seldom money and never land' (O. Lang, *op. cit.*, p. 44). The case was just the reverse in Babylon and Egypt. Women had inheritance right. Both father and mother could have estates (*ibid.*, p. 44 note). Even in Roman Republic, when fathers and husbands had absolute legal powers over them, women gained the right to own property as early as second century B.C. (*ibid.*, p. 44. note). In Germany, in early middle ages, bride price was handed over to the bride and remained her private property (same as *strīdhana* in India) like the morning gift (which she happened to receive from her husband the day after the wedding) and the dowry given to her by her family. Married woman's property-rights were subject to some restrictions but the rights never disappeared completely even in the period when position of women was at its lowest from 11th to 14th centuries (*ibid.*, p. 44 note). We are quite in the dark about the right of C. Asian wife to inherit her husband's property. This much is to be admitted that she had perfect control over her 'personal property' which could be equally inherited both by her sons as well as daughters (doc. no. 474).

(c) *Control of the husband*:—The husband in Chinese Turkestan perhaps had no control either over his wife's property or her person. *Manu* (VIII, 299-300-quoted by Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 137) endowed the husband with a limited power of physical correction over his wife (i.e. प्राप्तपराधास्ताब्धाः स्युः रज्ज्वा वेणुदलेन वा). In later mediaeval ages in England, a husband was seen going to a doctor making arrangements for the treatment of broken bones and then beating his wife with a pestle and breaking her legs for disobeying him (Abraham, *English Life and Manners in later Mediaeval Ages*, p. 126 as quoted by Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 111). It was a custom in mediaeval Russia that bride's father used to supply his son-in-law a new whip as a symbol of his authority and it was hung over

the bridal bed (Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 112). According to a proverb current in Germany during 15th century, a woman and an ass existed only to be beaten (Hall, *Women in Soviet Russia*, p. 75 as quoted by Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 112).

#### V. *Position of Widow*

Interpreting the phrase '*vega kilme striyana*' (doc. nos. 211, 165, 481, 714), Mr. Burrow remarks (*Language*, p. 123) 'the phrase *Vega Kilme* might mean something like widow's department or widow's state.' F. W. Thomas (quoted by Dr. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Calcutta, vol. I, p. 241 note 1) does not agree with Burrow. The word *Vega* needs to be compared with Iranian '*Vidavak*', Pahlavi '*Vevak*', N. Persian '*Bēvab*', all these words meaning a widow (*Language*, p. 123). The documents under review fail to throw any light on the plight of widows in the society.

Herodotus tells us that a Scythian king, married his stepmother who was a widow. The Huns in Mongolia allowed a son to take over as wives all the ladies of his father's harem excepting his own natural mother (McGovern, *op. cit.*, p. 55).

#### VI. *Position of Women in General*

##### (i) *Attitude of Society towards women:*

In Europe, the ascetic idea of Christianity resulted in regarding women as 'chief vehicle of sin', in Tertullian's words—'the devil's gate-way' (*Encycl. Soc. Sc.*, *op. cit.*, p. 444). People in Chinese Turkestan too had not a very high opinion about females. It is funny to read doc. no. 514 which runs thus: 'If one is liked by women, nothing pleasant results from that. Women are like razor's edge. Who would speak praise of them?'<sup>21</sup> As noted in the beginning, the birth of a girl was not a matter of rejoicing or good luck. Also she could be sold, given away and given in exchange too. But there is not a single instance referring to girls or women as harbinger of good luck for the family. As to their education and upbringing, we are quite ignorant in the matter.

<sup>21</sup> Trans., p. 101; similar view of sage *Agastya* as quoted in *Rāmāyaṇa* (II. 13. 6-7) i.e. शस्त्राणां तीक्ष्णता, see Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 384 note 3.



(ii) *Women being kidnapped and beaten:*

Women in Chinese Turkestan were really unfortunate to a great extent. They were being kidnapped (doc. nos. 9, 415, 719), beaten (doc. no. 9), wounded and their heads broken (doc. nos. 20, 29, 53). The purchaser of a girl had every right to beat her (doc. nos. 589, 590, 592). Once a lady was so much beaten by the kidnappers that miscarriage took place (doc. no. 9 गर्भविनष्ट); she was allowed to come back to her husband. A few Indian *Smṛtis* and *Purāṇas* were considerate enough in allowing families to accept such helpless women who happened to be assaulted criminally.<sup>22</sup> Cases of illegal sexual intercourse have also been reported in some of the documents (doc. nos. 719, 730).<sup>23</sup>

In ancient China, if a husband committed adultery, it was no offence but a husband could kill his adulterous wife with impunity (O. Lang, *op. cit.*).

(iii) *Women earning wages:*

In Chinese Turkestan, women used to work on wages (doc. nos. 19, 54, 403, cf. word कर्मवेत्ति). Sometimes they stayed in herds (doc. no. 19) and got some wages,<sup>23a</sup> food and clothing in exchange. They could not be forced to work without just cause (doc. no. 403). No heavy task was perhaps assigned to the female servants. Generally women used to earn some money by weaving and spinning in ancient India,<sup>24</sup> China<sup>25</sup> and Rome<sup>26</sup>. Such type of light work was sufficient to ensure financial stability. Tartar women<sup>27</sup> in 2nd century B.C. were as hardy as men. They did most of the work of the camp.

22 Details see Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 369-70; also in *Vaśiṣṭha Dharmasūtra*, (बलात्कारोपभुक्ता वा चोरहस्तागतपि वा न त्याज्या दूषिता नारी नास्यास्त्यागोविधायते) XXVIII, 2-3; *Atri*, V, 35; *Parāśara* X, 26-7.

23 For views of *Kaṇṭhalaya*, *Yājñavalkya* and *Vaśiṣṭha* against defiling of daughter or women of slave, see Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 98, n. 57-8.

23a In ancient China (O. Lang, *op. cit.*, p. 44) the wages thus earned went to the family and only father, husband, or father-in-law could dispose it of.

24 *Kātyāyana*, V. 736 quoted by Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 263, note 1; Altekar, p. 26 quoting similar views of *Kaṇṭhalaya* and *Anguttara Nikāya*.

25 F. Hirth, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

26 *Ency. Soc. Sc.*, *op. cit.*, p. 444.

27 Seeger. Elizabeth, *The Pageant of Chinese History*, Newyork, 1947, p. 82.

(iv) *Sale, purchase, exchange, and giving away of women :*

(a) In Athens, there was no woman question as women were mere vegetables<sup>28</sup>, while in ancient Palestine, they were just pieces of property to be brought and sold<sup>29</sup>. The *Kharoṣṭhī* documents refer to different prices of women as 41 rolls of silk (doc. no. 3), a seven years old camel (doc. no. 209) and certain textile goods,<sup>30</sup> animals<sup>31</sup> etc., all valuing at ninety-eight (doc. no. 590). Nowhere there is any note referring to the right of husbands to sell their wives in the market<sup>31</sup>. Among the Teutons, women were just an item of movable property of their husbands<sup>32</sup>. Persians used to give their women and children as payment of taxes<sup>32</sup> while in early Rome, husband could easily sell his wife<sup>32</sup>. Woman always suffered a lot at the hands of male persons who always proved callous hearted. *Nārada* (XII, 51, 54—quoted by Ghoshal, U. N., *The Beginning of Indian Historiography and other Essays*, Calcutta, 1944, p. 94) mentions a class of 'wanton women' (स्वैरिणी) who are acquired by purchase.

A purchaser (as depicted in doc. no. 590) could exercise every right over a purchased female. He was 'free to beat her, to bind her, to sell her, to give her to others as present, to exchange her, to pledge her, to do whatever he liked with her' (cf. doc. no. 589).

(b) As an exchange for a camel, a woman could also be given (doc. no. 578).

(c) Some Khotanese plunderers kidnapped a woman and offered her as a present (along with her sons and daughters) to some other person (doc. no. 415). It was nothing surprising. Certain hymns in *Rg. Veda*<sup>33</sup> (I. 126. 3) and *Mahābhārata* (V, 86, 8)<sup>33</sup> glorify gifts of female slaves (up to one hundred in number).

(d) Women could also be transferred as a portion of household

<sup>28</sup> Davies, *A Short History of Women*, p. 172 as quoted by Altekar *op. cit.*, p. 407.

<sup>29</sup> Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 407.

<sup>30</sup> i.e. one *vijala* camel, one *amklatsa* camel, one carpet 12 cubits in length, another carpet 11 cubits long and 8 *sutramuli* in all.

<sup>31</sup> This was the condition in China. Details see O. Lang., *op. cit.*, p. 37.

<sup>32</sup> Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

<sup>33</sup> Quoted by Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 213-4.

property (doc. no. 706). Once a *veṣi* woman was kidnapped for non-payment of debt (doc. 719) by her master.

(v) *Women's right of adoption :*

In ancient India, *Dharmaśāstra*<sup>34</sup> writers were against any move of women giving or receiving a son in adoption except with the permission of their husbands. In Chinese Turkestan, women were free to transfer their issues in adoption (doc. no. 569). We notice slave women, giving only daughters in adoption (doc. nos. 39, 45). Perhaps they could not give their sons in adoption<sup>35</sup>. From doc. no. 39 we know that slave women, while giving their issues in adoption, had to take permission of their masters. But the same document records that the slave who adopted the child of that lady did not seek the permission of his master for adopting the child.

(vi) *Women in public life :*

In doc. no. 46, there is a slight reference to the previous custom of Chinese Turkestan when 'men used to perform public duties while women did not participate at all'<sup>36</sup>. A similar state of affairs was prevalent in ancient China where women, in centuries before the birth of Christ, were meant to 'attend to the preparation of food within rooms allotted, to preserve household articles, to sew and to weave. To these things her sphere of activity was limited'<sup>37</sup>. The position was just the reverse in ancient Egypt<sup>38</sup> where women, unlike Greek ladies worked outside their homes, conducted trade and kept themselves busy in manual labour.

(vii) *Women's right to hold landed and movable property :*

As noted above, women in Central Asia enjoyed sufficient property rights. They were having animals i.e. camels (doc. no. 516, cf.

34 Kane, P. V., *op. cit.*, p. 675.

35 In doc. no. 415, even a kidnapped woman is allowed to give her son in adoption. Our documents do not specifically narrate the actual privileges enjoyed by slave women.

36 This is the exact translation of the phrase by Burrow in *Trans., doc.* no. 46.

37 F. Hirth, *op. cit.*, p. 283; cf. Elizabeth Seegeer, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

38 *Ency. Soc. Sc., op. cit.*, p. 443; for women taking part in administrative work, see Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 212-25.

doc. no. 420), mares (doc. no. 600) and horses (doc. no. 421). Also they could purchase landed property (doc. no. 677) over which they had perfect control 'to plough, to sow, to give it as present etc.' In this document (no. 677) the lady actually received some land as present from some person<sup>39</sup>. Elsewhere women took a camel on hire (doc. no. 516) and a mare in exchange from the royal stables (doc. no. 600). Thus there was no check on women's activities outside the precincts of their homes. They could indulge in all sorts of transactions concerning sale, purchase, exchange etc. Similarly a woman in ancient Babylon could engage in business (*Ency. Soc. Sc., op. cit.*, p. 443).

(viii) *Love marriages and divorce :*

Married ladies<sup>40</sup> could very easily break their marriage bonds and take recourse to elopement and remarriage. From doc. no. 621 we find that a lady divorced her husband and contracted love marriage with a potter's son without her father's permission. Since she happened to be quite grown up (even married), her father was in no position to demand any *lote*<sup>41</sup> from his daughter's new husband. Reference to the breaking of marriage bonds has already been made (doc. no. 97, 34). What was the lot of divorced women we cannot say.

(ix) *As witness in the court :*

Woman was considered to be a qualified witness in the Babylonian Court (*Ency. Soc. Sc., op. cit.*, p. 443). Same was the case in Chinese Turkestan (doc. no. 3, 420).

Sometimes the State had to interfere when ladies acted contrary to the law<sup>42</sup>.

(x) *Women writing letters :*

A lady is writing a letter to her dear sister (doc. no. 316). She

39 Land acquired here was free of *Sen* and *Nuhra* taxes. It is also to be marked that the sons of the lady could not exercise authority over that land acquired by their mother.

40 In ancient China, divorce was entirely man's privilege (O. Lang, *op. cit.*, p. 40) in post feudal days.

41 See note 6 above.

42 In doc. no. 569, a lady received due milk-fee in exchange for a son given in adoption. But very soon she took the child back. Her claim over the child was lost at the moment she received the milk fee. The state resented this illegal action of the lady.

sends her a present of some garment of unicoloured silk as well. In return, she is expecting a coat from her sister.

(xi) *Census of women :*

In doc. no. 110, are written names of ladies of Peta-avana (a locality name) including sisters, mothers and even their husbands. The document (begins with dates, year, month, day etc., i.e. संवत्सरे २३ मसे षोडश दिवसे ६ पेतन्नवनिचिय स्त्रियन प्रचेय ) appears to be some record of female population. The exact purpose is shrouded in mystery (cf. also no. 334).

(xii) *Maltreatment of witches :*

Witches in Chinese Turkestan, as elsewhere in Europe, were imprisoned, punished (doc. no. 248) and even put to death<sup>43</sup> (doc. 63). It was really a crime to be a witch. Recompense for a dead woman could be allowed only when a woman was not a witch (doc. no. 58). This shows that there was made some provision for compensating the murder of women other than witches. *Manu* (quoted by Dr. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 380) prescribes capital punishment in such murder cases.

(xiii) *Days of pregnancy :*

It was only after safe delivery that relations (doc. no. 702) could feel relieved. People knew well the serious condition of a pregnant lady.

(xiv) *Dress :*

Central Asian women used to wear three distinct varieties of bodices or jackets (i.e. कंबुलि)<sup>44</sup> :-

- (a) Made of flowered silk (doc. no. 318).
- (b) Made of hempen cloth (doc. no. 318).
- (c) Made of woollen cloth (doc. no. 318).

Indian ladies now too wear such clothes to cover their breasts.

43 Cf. Jiji, a Hunnish chief (first century B.C.) killed his new bride; see Mcgovern, *op. cit.*, p. 191, but this was not a regular feature in the society. In Ancient India, woman was not to be killed ( शतपथ ब्राह्मण XI, 4, 32; उत्तररामचरितम् V, 34; महाभारत 1, 172, 41). For details consult Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 380-1).

44 For details consult my article 'A study of Textiles and Garments as depicted in the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Chinese Turkestan' read before the *All India Oriental Conference*, Lucknow, 1951; cf. *Skt. कम्बुलि*.

(xv) *Quarrelsome ladies* :

A certain monk complained that a lady burnt his yellow robe (doc. 606). Why all this happened, the document is unable to tell anything. But this must have been to some extent due to the luxurious<sup>45</sup> household life of the monks as depicted in the documents.

(xvi) *Care of the ladies* :

The documents under discussion sufficiently prove that the lot of women was bettered a bit by allowing them to exercise full rights, both in matters of movable and immovable property. Sometimes care was also taken to safeguard the rights and privileges of female servants and labourers (doc. nos. 3, 19). Injustice done to such members of the society was unbearable (doc. no. 403). But how far does this dictum come out to be true when we notice them being kidnapped, raped, sold and transferred like cattle and movable property? Privilege to enjoy property rights was no matter of consolation in any way. Women have always suffered in all the ancient societies of the world and Central Asian women were no exception to it.

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45 Cf. my article 'Buddhist monks in Chinese Turkestan,' *Lakṣmana Swarnam Commemoration Volume*, Hoshiarpur.

## The Astrologer at the Village and the Court

With innumerable copies of printed annual almanacs, called *Pañjī*, *Pañjikā* or *Pañcāṅga*, of various types in each one of the numerous regional languages, available to the literate people in all parts of India, it is impossible, in these days of advanced literacy in the country, to realise the great importance of the astrologer in Indian social life before the nineteenth century<sup>1</sup>. In chapter VIII of his

1 The introduction of printed almanacs is not very old in our country. B. N. Banerji's *Saṁvādapatre Sekāler Kathā*, vol. II, 1830-40, second ed., pp. 736-43, gives an interesting account of the growth of the printing press in Bengal. Bengali letters were for the first time used in printing in N. B. Halhead's *A Grammar of the Bengali Language* published from Andrew's printing press at Hooghly in 1778. The Bengali types for this work were prepared by an officer of the East India Company, named Charles Wilkins. The first Bengali (indeed the first Indian or Asian) who learnt the art of fabricating the types of Bengali and other eastern alphabets was an assistant of Wilkins, who was a smith (Karmakāra) of Trivenī (near Calcutta), named Pañcānana Misrī. Pañcānana is known to have become the most important figure in the printing activities in Bengal after Wilkins' departure from India in 1786. About the beginning of 1800, Pañcānana was employed by the Baptist Missionaries of Śrīrāmpur (near Hooghly) and helped his masters in establishing a foundry for the fabrication of letters of Bengali, Oriya, Nāgarī and other alphabets. He taught the art to his son-in-law Manohara Mītrī, another Karmakāra of Trivenī, who continued working under the missionaries after Pañcānana's death in 1803-04. This Manohara is said to have been responsible for fabricating the letters of the Chinese alphabet. In the Bengali year 1245 (1837-38 A.D.) Manohara, assisted by his son and disciple, Kṛṣṇacandra, founded a printing press at Śrīrāmpur and began to publish, among other books, annual almanacs in Bengali with many illustrations. Manohara died in B.S. 1253 (1845-46 A.D.) and Kṛṣṇacandra in 1850. About this time however Bengali almanacs of different types were being annually published from various other presses in Calcutta and its neighbourhood. The earliest reference to a printed almanac in Banerji's work (*ibid.*, vol. I, 1818-30, second ed., p. 70) speaks of the *Navadvīpa-sammata-Pañjikā* for B.S. 1227 (1820-21 A.D.), printed at Viśvanātha Deva's printing press at Sabhābāzār, on the authority of the Bengali weekly *Samācā darpaṇa* (the first issue of which was published on May 27, 1818). In the first half of the nineteenth century, the almanacs prepared by the Pandit, of Navadvīpa, Maulā, Bāraikhālī, Vāklā, Khānāpur, Bajrāpur, Bāli, Gaṇapur, Digsui, Vāksā, Kulṭi, Medinipur, Viṣṇupur

*Bengal Peasant Life*, published in 1874, L. B. Day (a Bengali Christian educationist) gives an admirable account of the village astrologer of Bengal in the first half of the nineteenth century. In this description we find how the professional astrologer was intimately associated with Bengali social life as late as the last century, although his influence has possibly not died out totally even at the present time. In the first place, the village astrologer "cast the nativities of male children—for girls have no horoscopes properly so called, the dates of their birth and the positions of heavenly bodies being briefly registered in a small slip of paper.<sup>2</sup> Secondly, he "pointed out auspicious and inauspicious days by calculating the positions of the heavenly bodies, which trade brought him no little gain, as orthodox Hindus never engage in any important work like marriage or even undertaking a journey to a distant place without first ascertaining from the astrologer the most auspicious day for its performance." Thirdly, he was "at the beginning of a new year in the habit of 'reading the new almanac', as it is called, in the house of every respectable orthodox Hindu, which 'reading' consisted in a prophetic review or rather prevision of the leading astronomical phenomena and astrological events of the coming year together with the recitation of a few legends connected with the subject; and every person who heard the new almanac read or recited was bound to give some present, however little, to the Ācārya." Fourthly, he "pursued the profession of a Gaṇatkāra or calculator, that is to say, a diviner... . Whenever the cow of a peasant strayed and could not be found, whenever an ornament of gold or silver—a pair of bangles or earrings for example—was filched from its rightful owner, whenever a plate of Monghyr clay-slate or brass was missing,—in all such cases, Dhūmaketu (nickname of the village astrologer in question) was able, by skilfully handling a bit of chalk and by tracing hieroglyphical characters on the mud floor of his hut, to tell with infallible certainty, the present *locus* of the strayed or

and Vagiri were very popular. See *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 67; vol. II, p. 552. Even as at the present time, there was often difference of opinion amongst the different schools of Pandits in regard to the time when a particular festival should have to be performed. Cf. *ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 552-53.

<sup>2</sup> In Bengal, this is called *Ṭhikuji* which is a summary version of the *Koṣṭhi* or horoscope.



missing articles. His hut was frequented by the rich and the poor. .... Though his predictions often turned out false, the people were not shaken in their belief in his supernatural skill for sometimes his divination proved correct, and such is human conduct that, in divination, the failures are forgotten and the successes carefully remembered."

Padfield, quoted in Dubois' *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, third ed., p. 136, gives a similar description of the Pañcāṅga Brāhmaṇa of South India. It is said that the Pañcāṅga Brāhmaṇa "by studying the almanac, is able to state propitious and unpropitious times. He gets his livelihood by going certain rounds day by day from house to house declaring the condition of things as per the almanac and receiving in return a dole consisting usually of grain. He is not held in much respect by his own caste people; but he is much looked upto by other castes. He is consulted by his constituents from time to time when they wish to know the propitious period for any undertaking as starting on journey, making an important purchase, putting on new clothes or new jewels, or when about to take up a new appointment or when any other important event is contemplated." There is epigraphic evidence to show that the office of the village astrologer was an institution recognised by the state during Hindu rule. We may refer to two inscriptions of the age of the Vijayanagara kings in this connection (cf. Mahalingam, *Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar*, pp. 218-19). A copper-plate inscription said to be of the time of Śrīraṅga II but dated in 1631 A.D. states that Immaḍi Kempe Gauḍa who was in charge of the Yalahaṅka *nāḍu* granted the right of reading the Pañcāṅga in certain villages to one Avubaḷa Narasiṁhabhaṭṭa and provided that the fees attached to the office of reading the almanac in those villages were to be enjoyed by him and his descendants. According to an inscription of 1565 A.D., some individuals complained to the agent of Rāmadeva Mahārāya that the offices of *Sēnabōva* and *Iyotiṣa*, which they had been enjoying since the days of their ancestors, had been brought under the *Sist* and requested that they should be granted to them. An enquiry was then instituted and it was declared, "The former residents affirming that the offices of *Sēnabōva*, *Iyotiṣa*, *Purohita*, etc., belonging to the Sante-Bennūr *śīme* in the Uccaṅge *veṇṭhi* were held by you—we

therefore grant them to you, as a gift of Rāma, to be enjoyed by you, your sons, grandsons and posterity in regular succession, and you may take possession of the dues and rights belonging thereto in the Sante-Bennur *śime*." The Brāhmaṇical family name *Joṣī* (Sanskrit *Jyotiṣin*), found in various parts of India, seems to speak of royal recognition for the families of astrologers in question. Similarly the family name *Prabarāja* (Sanskrit *Prabara-rāja*) found amongst Oriya Brāhmaṇas was originally a royal title conferred on an astrologer by a king.

Dubois who worked as a missionary in South India from 1792 to 1823 gives in his celebrated work referred to above (pp. 135-36) an interesting account not only of the village astrologer but also of the astrologers at the royal courts. Thus he says, "One of the most valued privileges of the Purohitas<sup>3</sup> is the right of publishing the Hindu almanac. The majority of them, being too ignorant to compile it, buy copies every year from those of their brethren who are sufficiently well-versed in astronomy to be able to calculate the eclipses and variations of the moon. It must be admitted that these learned Hindus, unacquainted as they are with the analytical operations which in Europe facilitate the computation of the movements of the stars, and having only the most ancient tables wherewith to assist their calculation, require an enormous amount of patience and concentrated attention to produce results which are in any degree trustworthy. This almanac is an absolute necessity to every Purohita, since it tells him not only which are the lucky and unlucky constellations and fortunate or inauspicious days, but also which are the propitious hours in each day; for it is only at these particular moments that the ceremonies can begin at which he is called to preside. The Brāhmaṇas also draw inspiration from this book in predicting happy and unhappy events in life. Numbers of people come to consult them on points like these; and it is not the common people only on whom this superstition has such a strong hold, for

3 The Purohita enjoys a *mānyam* or fice grant of land. He "is a Brāhmaṇa whose business it is to fix auspicious days for marriage, journeys and undertakings generally. He presides at the marriage and funeral ceremonies of the Sūdras, but not at the marriage ceremonies of Brāhmaṇas. The Brāhmaṇa who presides at the latter is called Upādhyāya. A Purohita is sometimes called a Pañcāṅgi or one who has the charge of the Pañcāṅgam or almanac, not a very dignified office" (*ibid.*, p. 135, note).

princes and persons of the highest rank believe in it even more firmly, if that be possible. There is no one in high position who has not one or more Purohitas living in his palace. They go every morning and with ludicrous gravity announce to the prince, to his state elephant and to his idols, each in their turn, all that is written in the almanac relating to that particular day. Should the prince wish to hunt, walk or receive visits from strangers, and the perspicacity of the Purohita discovers in his infallible book that this is an unpropitious moment, the chase, the walk or the visit is postponed. In large temples, a Purohita is specially retained to read to the idols<sup>4</sup> every morning the predictions for that day contained in the almanac."

What Dubois says about the importance of the astrologer at the royal court in South India about the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century is perfectly borne out by ancient Indian literature. In *The Social and Military Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India* (*Journ. Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. XIII, 1888, pp. 151ff.), Hopkins has very clearly demonstrated the growth of the power of the royal priest who gradually succeeded in early India in shadowing his master (cf. *op. cit.*, p. 161). Kane (*History of Dharmasāstra*, vol. III, p. 126) similarly shows how in later times several different officers took over some of the functions of the royal Purohita. One of these officers was called Sāmvatsara (also Sāmvatsarika; *ibid.*, p. 154, note 193) or astrologer, often styled *Jyautiṣika*, *Daivajña*, *Maubhūrtika*, *Kārtāntika*, etc., although sometimes the designations are applied to different classes of astrologers. The *Viṣṇusmṛti* (III, 75; *rājā ca sarva-kāryeṣu sāmvaṭsar-ādhīnaḥ syāt*) requires the king to depend on the astrologer on all matters. According to the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (II, 9), a king without an astrologer mistakes his path like a blind man. The *Kāmandakīyanītiśāra* (IV, 33) and *Viṣṇudharmottara* (II, 4, 5-16) also prescribe reliance on the astrologer. The *Kauṭīliya-Arthaśāstra* (IX, 4) is not in favour of too much reliance on astrology; but the same work (V, 3) mentions the *kārtāntika* (foreteller), *naimittika*

4 This is because the deities are often regarded as kings or emperors. Note that the medieval rulers of Orissa considered themselves as the deputies of the god Jagannātha-Puruṣottama of the Puri temple, who was represented as the real lord of their dominions. Note also that extensive rent-free estates were often allotted to the deities so that they could be logically viewed as rulers.

(reader of omens; cf. a Gāhaḍavāla grant in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, p. 305) and *maṇḍālika* (astrologer) in the list of royal officers of the sixth class earning an annual salary of 1000 silver coins. The *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* (I, 307) holds that the rise and fall of kings depend on the influence of planets.

The Sarkho plates of 1128 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. xxii, pp. 159ff.) give some interesting information regarding the astrologers at the court of the Kalacuri King Ratnadeva II. According to the record, these astrologers were using wrong methods of astronomical calculation, as a result of which their predictions relating to eclipses hardly came true. A good astronomer named Padmanābha discovered the mistakes in their methods, made the necessary *bija-saṃkāra*, and calculated correctly the exact time of a particular lunar eclipse. Padmanābha was then rewarded by the king for his success.

That the court astrologers of ancient India often did a great disservice to their master and their country owing to some reason or other seems to be clear from the story of the Muslim occupation of Bengal as given in Minhājuddīn's *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* (see Raverty's translation, pp. 554-59; Elliot and Dowson's *History of India as told by its own Historians*, vol. II, p. 310; Ray's *Dynastic History of Northern India*, pp. 372-73, etc.) It is said that after Muḥammad Bakhtiyār's conquest of Bihār, "a number of astrologers, wise men and counsellors of his kingdom" represented to Rāi Lakhmanīa (i.e. king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal) that it was written "in our books of the ancient Brāhmaṇas" that their country would fall into the hands of the Turks. They assured the king that the Turks had already subjugated Bihār "and next year they will surely come into this country." Accordingly they advised the king to "be removed from the country in order that we may be safe from the molestation of the Turks." On the Sena king hesitating to follow their advice, the astrologers gave him the description of the would-be conqueror of Bengal, which, on verification, was found to agree with the physical features of Muḥammad Bakhtiyār. When these facts were known, "most of the Brāhmaṇas and inhabitants of that place retired into the province of Saknāt (sic. Samataṭa), the cities and towns of Bang (Vaṅga) and towards Kāmrūd (Kāmarūpa); but to begin to abandon his country was not agreeable to Lakhmanīa." Now whether the conduct of Lakṣmaṇasena's astrologers was due to the bribe they might have

taken from the Musalmans or to their fear cannot be definitely determined ; but there is no doubt that their prediction created panic in the western districts of the Sena kingdom and paralysed the Sena king's preparations to defend his country against the Turkish invader. Majumdar (*Dacca University History of Bengal*, vol. I, p. 245) rightly observes that "the judgment of posterity must go against the generals and ministers of state (of Lakṣmaṇasena) who either betrayed their king and master or were guilty of culpable negligence in performing duties entrusted to them." It should however be noticed that the responsibility for the loss of Nadiyā and Lakhnautī to the Musalmans was not in a small measure due to the suspicious conduct of the astrologers at Lakṣmaṇasena's court. That Lakṣmaṇasena hesitated to move according to the advice of his astrologers only shows that, unlike most of the Indian rulers in different periods of history, he was cultured and conscientious enough to overcome his superstition.

It is well-known that most of the royal charters issued by ancient and medieval Indian rulers bear dates often with astronomical details which were no doubt supplied by the court astrologer. Various private records are also found to bear dates with similar details for which the village astrologers must have been responsible. On attempts of verification of such dates, however, it is found that in a large number of cases they are irregular. There is a tendency amongst a section of epigraphists to view the genuineness of a document bearing an irregular date with suspicion. The recent attempts to assign the beginning of the Kalacuri era variously to 249 or 250 or 251 A.D. and that of the Gaṅga era to 496 or 497 or 498 A.D. represent another phase of the same question. But it seems to be a quite wrong approach to the problem as the irregularity in the dates may be due to factors absolutely unconnected with the question of the genuineness of the document and of the epoch of an era. More than half of the cases of irregularity were undoubtedly due to mistakes in the calculation of the astrologers who were often certainly not quite competent astronomers and to the erroneous method followed in the calculation. We know that the almanacs now published in different parts of India or even in the same part of the country do not tally with one another owing principally to the difference in the method of calculation followed or in the approach to parti-

cular astronomical problems.<sup>5</sup> Varying local traditions regarding the astrological character of particular days, *tithis* or moments may have also contributed to the difference referred to. Another cause of irregularity in the date of royal documents must have been the fact that in some cases the court astrologer had occasion to fabricate an auspicious moment when really there was none. This was hardly difficult for him to do as his master, the king, and most of his courtiers were blessedly ignorant of astronomy and had to depend entirely on the astrologer for the determination of an appropriate moment for a particular undertaking. Suppose a king promises one of his courtiers the grant of a rent-free village on the next occasion of a solar eclipse. Now if there was really no solar eclipse in the near future, the court astrologer might have been bribed to declare at least a partial solar eclipse on the new moon day of the following month when actually there was none.

Of course there may be other possible reasons for an irregularity creeping into the date of a royal charter. But the two possibilities, associated with the court astrologer and discussed above, do not appear to have received the attention they deserve.

D. C. SIRCAR

5 The difference can be easily demonstrated. It is well-known that the same solar month is called Cittirai (Caitra) in the Tamil land but Vaiśākha in Bengal. Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, vol. I, Chap. I, Para 12 gives rules for determining the commencement of the solar month according to the Tamil, Malayalam, Oriya and Bengali systems. But the learned author observes in this connection, "A difference of a whole day or of two days would ordinarily be found between days of the Tamil solar month and the corresponding Bengali days."

## Concordance of the Fauna in the Rāmāyaṇa\*

### 57. KHARA = Ass.

AK. 217. ख'राति खरति वा खरन् । खं शब्दं राति खरः ।

Ayo—<sup>i</sup>xxxix (13c), c (55a, 63a, 75a), cxvii (9a).

Ara—lvi (31a), lvii (49a).

Sun—xviii (30ab), xxvii (16a), xl (5a), lxxviii (18a).

Yud—xi (38a), xxvii (26b, 28ab), xxxv (11c), xxxvii (39a),  
xliv (26b), xlvi (8c), xlviii (4b), liv (49a), lxxxviii (3a),  
cxiii (8a)

Utt—vi (44b), xxxiii (37a), xxxvi (39a).

### 58. GAJA = Elephant.

AK. 127/183. गजति माद्यति गजः ।

Adi—xx (10a), xlii (12b, 14a, 15a, 16a), xliii (7b, 9a,  
10a, 11a), xlv (13b), lv (12a), lvi (4b).

Ayo—vii (30a), xii (11b, 33a), xx (23a, 41b), xlii (6a, 9a),  
xlvi (20a), lvi (20a), lvii (7a), lx (18a), lxv (20a),  
lxvi (13b, 15a), lxxii (23b), lxxiii (23a), xciv (22a),  
xcvii (25a), c (7a, 31a, 55a, 56a, 75a), ci (15b, 30b,  
35a, 39a), civ (19b), cv (10a, 59a), cvi (4a, 9b, 16b),  
cvii (18b), cxi (45a), cxxvii (4b).

Ara—vii (7b), xv (6a), xx (25ab), xxv (2a), xl (30b), lvii  
(5ab), lxxvii (17a, 38b), lviii (21a, 22b), lix (35b),  
lxiii (32b), lxxvi (22a).

Kis—ix (43a), xiii (47a), xliii (14c), xlv (44b), lxii (61a).

Sun—iii (14ab, 20a, 21a), xi (13a), xii (25b, 30b, 31a,  
33b), xiii (13a), xiv (36b), xviii (30a, 33c, 39b), xxi  
(17b), xxvii (11ab), xxviii (1b, 15a), xlii (38a), lxxx  
(20b), lxxxii (18a, 24a, 32a), lxxxv (2a).

\* Continued from p. 256 of vol. XXVIII, No. 3.

57 *Ait. Āra.*, iii. 2. 4; *Sat. Brā.*, v. 1. 2. 15; xiv. 1. 2. 17; *Mbh.*; *Kāśikā*, (72), 5, 1, 2, 17.

58 Harappa (Vats), IV. 10070; V. 1924; Seal. 226-231; *Adbbūta Brāh.* (Ind. Stud. 1, 39). Mohenjo (Mackay), DK—8324—L; Seal. 57; Mohenjo (Marshall), DK—1212; SD—1683; *Mahābhāṣya*, 4, 2, 43; *Shadv. Brā.*, v, 3.

Yud—xi (43b), xiii (15a), xvi (56b), xxvii (13b, 27a),  
xxviii (13b), xxx (23a), xxxa (19b, 24b), xxxi (22b,  
32b), xxxiii (3a), xxxv (8a, 13c), xxxvii (53a), xliii  
(28b), xlv (30a), xlv (20b), xlvi (83a), xlix (6b,  
20a, 37a), l (10a, 13a, 33b), li (27a), lii (11a), liv  
(25a, 26ab), lv (13a), lvi (73c), lxiii (35b, 44b),  
lxxiv (23a), lxxvi (16b), lxxvii (22a, 27b, 28a, 29a),  
lxxxi (17a), lxxxvi (11b).

Utt—v (4b), vii (5a), xx (19a, 34a), xxi (45b, 66a), xxxiv  
(30b), lxiii (37b), lxx (2b, 21a).

59. GARDABHA = Ass.

AK. 217. गर्दति गर्दभः, गर्द शब्दे ।

Ara—xxx (4b).

60. GARUTMAT = The bird Garuḍa.

AK. 7/10. गरुतः पक्षाः सन्त्यस्य गरुत्मान् ।

Ara—xxxvi (6b).

Sun—ii (10b).

Yud—xxvi (26c), lxxxix (27b).

Utt—xxi (63b), xxxi (32a), xxxviii (77a).

61. GARUḬA = Crane, a vulture or an eagle.

AK. 7/10. गरुड्भिर्हयते गरुडः ।

Adi—xiii (28b).

Ayo—xli (23a).

Ara—xx (33b, 34a), xl (26b, 30a), xlv (30b), lvi (30b).

Kis—x (6b), lix (17a).

Sun—i (32b), iii (59a), vi (1b), vii (40b), viii (14b), xxiii  
(22a), lxxi (3b), xcvi (30a).

Yud—xxvi (10b, 20a, 24b, 40c), xxxvii (2a), xl (38b),  
xlvi (32b), lxxi (30a).

Utt—vi (45a), vii (39a, 40a, 41a, 47a), viii (17b), xi  
(19a), xxi (41b), xxiii (14a, 18b), xxx (9b), xxxi  
(59a).

59 *Rv.*, iii. 53. 23; *Av.*, viii. 6. 10; *Ait. Brā.*, iii. 34; *Tait. Saṁ.*, v. 1, 2, 1. 2; v. 1, 5, 5; *Jaim. Brā.* i, 57, 4; *Mabābhāṣya*, i, 1, 56, 136.

60 *Mbb.* (BORI), I. 29. 16a; *Sat. Brā.* VI. 7, 2, 6. *Kāśikā*, (183). 8, 2, 9, 18; *Rv.* i, 164, 46; *Av.*, iv, 6, 3.

61 *Mbb.* (BORI), I. 15. 22a; *Tait. Āra.* x, 1, 6.



## 62. GO = Cow.

AK. 213. गच्छति गौः ।

Adi—i (101b), ix (56ab, 57a, 58b), xvii (3b), xxviii (13b),  
xxix (4a), liv (10b, 13a, 22b), lxxiii (22a), lxxiv  
(24b, 27b, 28a, 29a, 30a), lxxv (1a), lxxvi (5a).Ayo—ii (34a), xviii (36b), xxxii (9b, 23b, 40a, 42ab,  
44a), xli (12a), xlii (18a), lii (20b).

Ara—xx (29a), xxix (28b).

Kis—iv (3b), xvi (33a), xxi (38b), xxii (30b), xxxiv (14a).

Sun—xv (27b), xviii (32b), xxxi (66a), xxxiii (22b), lxviii  
(17a), xc (9a).Yud—vii (33b), xi (38a), xxiii (18b), xcv (2b), ciii (21a),  
cxiii (38a).Utt—vi (44b), xxii (7a, 9a), xxv (17a), xxxi (19a), lv (8a,  
10a, 12b, 14ab), lxiii (44b), cxv (22a).

## 63. GO-KARṆA = The deer antelope picta.

AS. 223. गोरिव कर्णोऽस्य गोकर्णः ।

Ayo—cxi (48b).

Kis—i (13a).

## 64. GO-PATI = Bull.

Ara—lii (4b).

## 65. GO-PUCCHA = A sort of monkey.

‘गोपुच्छा गललाङ्गुलीदीर्घा ये कपयः स्मृता’ इति

Adi—xx (10b).

Kis—xxvi (2b).

## 66. GO-MĀYU = Jackal.

AK. 85/125. गां मिनोति मीनाति वा गोमायुः ।

Ayo—xci (18a).

Ara—xlvi (15b), lxv (2b, 3b, 4a, 9b).

Yud—xi (35b), xviii (55a, 57c), lix (29a), lxviii (22a),  
lxxvi (20a), xciii (48a), xcv (5b).

62 *Rv.*, i. 83. 1; *Av.*, i. 31. 4; *Vaj. Saṃ.*, xxi. 20; *Sāṅk. Śrauta Sūtra*, ix. 23. 4; *Śat Brā.*, ii. 4. 3. 13; *Tait. Saṃ.*, vii. 5. 3. 1; *Jaim. Up. Brā.*, i. 12. 4; *Tait Brā.*, ii. 1. 1. 3; *Aśv. Śrauta Sūtra*, iii. 12. 2; *Gobh. Gr. Sūtra*, iii. 8. 7; *Mbh.* (BORI), I, 93, 8b, 14b.

64 *Mbh.*, xii, 4877.65 *Kāśikā* (225) 5, 3, 107, 9, *Mbh.*, iii.66 *Shāḍv. Brā.*, v, 8; *Mbh.*

## 67. GO-LĀNGŪLA = A black kind of monkey.

गो-लाङ्गूलः कर्कमुख वानर इति नारायणः । कृष्णमुखः कपिर्वा । (लो-टी)

Ayo—liv (30a).

Ara—xx (26b).

Kis—xxiii (4b), xxxv (30a), xxxviii (34a, 52a), xxxix (27ab).

Yud—iii (32c, 33b), xvii (20a), xxiv (34a), cvi (8b, 14b).

Utt—xcviii (14a).

## 68. GO-LĀNGULĪ—Female of Go-lāṅgula.

गोलाङ्गुलीषु कृष्णरक्तासु वानरीषु । 'गोलाङ्गुल इति प्रोक्तः कृष्णरक्तस्तु मर्कटः' इति रत्नमाला । गोपुच्छासु इति वा । (लो टी) ।

Adi—xx (12a).

## 69. GRDHRA = Vulture.

AK. 129. गृध्रति मांसं गृध्रः ।

Adi—i (58b, 59a, 60a, 78a), iii (72b).

Ayo—xci (18a).

Ara—vii (2b), xx (1b, 19b), xxiii (4b, 9a), xxix (3b), liv (64c), lvii (10b, 37a, 38b, 39a, 40b, 42b, 53b), lviii (3b, 25a, 28b, 31b), lix (3b, 4b), lxxiv (12a, 14a, 24b, 29a, 31a), lxxv (1a, 18a, 21b, 22b, 23a, 27a, 28a, 32b, 40b, 41a).

Kis—xix (20a), lvii (1b, 6a, 9b, 13a, 14b, 18b, 20b, 23b), lviii (12a, 14b), lix (1b, 15a, 30b), lx (1a, 20ab), lxii (29b), lxiii (20a), lxiv (28b).

Sun—i (1a), xvi (26b), xxvi (34b, 41a), xxxii (26a), xxxvi (38b), lxxviii (20a).

Yud—xi (35b), xvi (11a), xviii (57c), xxvii (31a, 34a), xxxi (36a), xliv (44a), lix (29a), lxviii (22b), lxxvi (20a, 35b, 39a), lxxviii (11b), lxxx (68b), lxxxix (26a), xci (20a, 24a, 25a), xciii (48a), xcv (5b), cix (31a), cxi (28b, 29a, 31b, 35b, 36a, 44a).

Utt—vi (52a), xxxvi (42a), lxiv (3a, 5b, 7a, 12c, 22b, 26b, 27a, 28a, 33b, 49b, 50a, 51b, 55c, 59a).

67. *Mbb.*, i, 2628.

69. *Rv.*, i. 118. 4; vii. 104. 22; *Av.*, vii. 95. 1; xi. 2. 2; *Tait. Saṁ.*, iv. 4. 7. 1; *Mait. Saṁ.*, iv. 9. 19; *Tait. Āra.*, iv. 29; *Mbb.* (BORI). I, 60, 55b.

70. GRĀHA = A rapacious animal living in fresh or sea water; any large fish or marine animal, e.g., crocodile, shark, Gangetic alligator, etc.  
 AK. 43/65. गृह्णाति ग्राहस्तन्तु नागाख्यः, विभाषा ग्रहः इति णः ।  
 Adi—xlii (7b).  
 Ayo—lv (4a).  
 Kis—xli (21b), xlv (48b).  
 Sun—lxxiii (12b), lxxv (28a, 30a), lxxx (13a, 20a), xciv (12b).  
 Yud—liv (25b).
71. GRĀHĪ = Female marine animal.  
 Yud—lxxxiii (151c, 153a, 158b, 164a).
72. CAKRA-VĀKA = The Cakra bird. *Anas Casarca*.  
 AK. 88/129. चक्रे चक्रः । चक्रेति वाक्—ग्राह्यास्य चक्रवाकः ।  
 Ara—xv (3a, 42b), xx (20b), xxi (12a), lxxviii (15a), lxxx (27b), lxxxi (28a, 42b).  
 Kis—xiii (8b), xxix (19a), li (11b).  
 Sun—xiv (38b, 39a), xvii (25b).  
 Yud—lxxvi (38b), lxxxiii (71a).  
 Utt—xx (20a, 21a), xlv (14a), lxxxiv (4b).
73. CAMARĀ = A kind of ox called the Yak. *Bos Grunniens*.  
 AK. 86/126. चमति चमरः ।  
 Ara—xv (4b).  
 Utt—vi (45b).
74. CILLIKĀ = Female of a cricket.  
 अन्तरीक्षस्थ कोट विशेषः  
 Adi—xxvii (12b).
75. CHĀGA = He-Goat.  
 AK. 152/217. छ्यति रोगं छागः ।  
 Yud—lii (23b).

70 Harappa (Vats), II. H—417; Seal-2430; Mohenjo (Marshall), HR-791; *Sat. Brā*, 3, 5, 3, 25; 6, 1, 25; *Mahābhāṣya*, 3, 3 156.

72 *Ṛv.*, ii. 39. 3; *Av.*, xiv. 2. 64; *Mait. Sam.*, iii. 14. 3. 13; *Vaj. Sam.*, xxiv. 22. 32; *Mbh.* (BORI), I. 60, 56b; *Kāśikā*, 6, 3, 118, 6; 4, 2, 80, 9.

73 *Mbh.*, *Mahābhāṣya*, 2, 3, 36, 458.

75 Harappa (Vats), iii. Ah—29; Mohenjo (Mackay), DK—5951; Seal-430; *Ṛv.*, i. 162. 3; *Tait. Sam.*, v. 6. 22. 1; *Vaj. Sam.* xix. 89; *Sat. Brā*, iii. 3. 3. 4; *Mait. Sam.*, iii. 11. 2; *Mahābhāṣya*, 2, 3, 61.

76. CHĀGALA = Goat.

AK. 152/217. छयति रोगां शङ्कागः, छागलश्च ।

Yud = xix (42b).

77. JATĀYU = Name of the King of Vultures.

Adi—i (58b), iii (49a, 55a, 56b), iv (15a).

Ara—xx (1b, 34b, 36b), l (58a), lvii (5a, 10b, 33a, 36a, 39b), lviii (1a, 3b, 20a, 26b, 27a, 32a, 33c), lxxiv (10b, 23a, 24a), lxxv (21b, 26a, 36b, 40b).

Kis—lvii (2b, 9a, 15a, 18b, 21a, 22b, 23a, 24a), lviii (10a, 14b), lix (2a, 6b, 10b, 12a, 13a), lx (11b, 21a), lxi (5b, 7a, 18a, 19a, 20b).

Sun—i (53a), xxvi (35a), xxxii (16b, 25b, 28a), xci (54a).

Yud—cix (31b), cxi (31b).

78. JAMBUKA = Jackal.

AK. 125. जमति जम्बुकः सर्वभक्षत्वात् ।

Kis—xix (20a).

79. JALA-KUKKUṬA = Water-fowl.

Kis—xiii (8a), li (12a).

80. JALA-KUKKUBHA = The aquatic bird Parra Jacana or Goensis.

Ayo—lvi (12b).

Utt—xx (20a).

81. JALA-CARĀ = Aquatic animal.

Adi—xiii (29b).

82. JALAJA = An aquatic animal, fish.

Ayo—lxii (32b).

83. JHILLĪKĀ = Female of a cricket.

AK. 88/130. फिञ्जी वाद्यभेदस्तत्तुल्यशब्दा फिञ्जिका चकाख्या ।

Ara—vii (4a).

84. TITṬIBHĪ = The female of the bird Parra Jacana, or goensis.

AK. 90/131. टिट्ठिशब्दं भाषते टिट्ठिभिः ।

Ayo—viii (41b).

Yud—lxxxiii (71b).

77 *Mbh.*, i, 2634

79 *Mbh.*, iii, 9926.

83 *Mbh.*, i, 2894.

78 *Mbh.* (BORI), xii, 149, 103a.

82 *Mbh.*, ii, 94.

84 *Mbh.*, xii,

## 85. TAKṢAKA = Serpent.

Ara—xxxvii (12b)

Sun—lxxx (9b).

Yud—xxxvii (62a).

Utt—xxiv (4a), xxxi (23a).

## 86. TARAKṢU = Hyena.

AK. 84/124 तरं क्षिणोति मार्गं रुणद्धि तरक्षुः ।

As. 265. तरक्षु द्वयं स्वल्प व्याघ्र । अयं कुक्कुरप्रायो व्याघ्रपुच्छश्च ।

तरन् प्लवन् क्षिणोति हिनस्तीति तरक्षुः ।

Ayo—ciii (7a).

Ara—liii (42b).

Sun—xviii (33a).

## 87. TITTIRA = Francoline partridge.

AK. 90/131 तित्ति शब्दं राति तित्तिरिः ।

Ayo—c (66b).

## 88. TIMI = A kind of whale.

AK. 42/64 तिम्यति तिमिः ।

Ara—xvii (23a), lxi (18a).

Kis—xliii (14c).

Sun—i (2b), xxxv (42a).

Utt—vii (7a).

## 89. TIRIṬAKA = A kind of bird.

Ara—lxxx (23a).

## 90. TURAGA = Horse.

AK. 184. तुरं त्वरितं गच्छति तुरगः, डः ।

Adi—xi (14b), xli (15b, 17b), xliii (14a).

Ayo—xxvi (19a), xliv (25a), lix (4a), cii (6a, 17a).

Ara—xxix (2a), xxxiii (32a).

Yud—xviii (53a), xxix (20a), xlix (68a), liv (25a), lviii (20c), lxxvi (27a), xci (30b), xcii (15a), cxii (10a).

Utt—xlix (2a, 12b).

85 *Mbh.* (BORI), I, 3, 1196; *Tānd. Brā.* 25, 15, 3. *Sāṅkh.* Gr, iv, 18, 186 *Tait. Sam.*, v. 5. 19. 1; *Mait. Sam.*, iii. 14. 21; *Vaj. Sam.*, xxiv. 40.87 *Tait. Sam.*, ii. 5. 1. 2; v. 5. 16. 1; *Vaj. Sam.*, xxiv. 30, 36; *Mait. Sam.*, ii. 4. 1; iii. 14. 1; *Kath. Sam.*, xii. 10; *Sat. Brā.*, i. 6. 3. 5; v. 5. 4. 6; *Jaim. Brā.*, ii. 154. 6.88 *Mbh.*90 *Mbh.*

91. TURAMGAMA = Horse.

AK. 184. तुरं त्वरितं गच्छति तुरगः, डः । (तुरङ्गमः) गमश्चेति खच् ।  
Adi—xiii (1a).

Ayo—xliii (15a, 16a),

Sun—xlii (39a), liii (12b).

Yud—xix (12a), xxxv (1b), xlv (30a), xlix (20a, 74b, 76a), lxxvii (18b).

92. DANTIN = Elephant.

AK. 127/182. दन्तौ स्तोऽस्य दन्ती दन्तावतः ।

Ayo—xci (14b).

Utt—cxiii (18a).

93. DĀTYŪHA = Gallinule.

AK. 87/128-29. द्वितीयं तृतीयं वा रूपं वहति दित्यवाट्, तस्यापत्यं दात्यूहः ।

Ayo—liv (42a), lvi (12a), cxi (49a).

Ara—lxxxi (11b).

Kis—xiii (8b), xxvi (5a).

Yud—xv (9a, 11b).

Utt—xlv (14b).

94. DVIJA = A bird or any oviparous animal, appearing first as an egg.

AK. 89/131. द्विर्जायत इति द्विजः ।

As. 247. प्रथममण्डेन जायते, ततः शाबकेन । अतो द्विजः ।

Adi—lvi (10a).

Ayo—iv (14b), lxxiii (14c), xcvi (16b), ciii (4a, 16a), civ (11a), cv (3b).

Ara—lix (39a), lxviii (6a), lxxiv (10a), lxxv (27a), lxxviii (8ab), lxxxi (25b, 44a, 46a).

Kis—ix (24b), xli (9a), lvii (2a).

Sun—iv (5a), xiii (12ab), xvii (12a, 32a, 52a), xx (24b), xxxvii (40b), lvii (113a), lxix (12a), lxxiv (53b), lxxv (15b).

Yud—ii (26b), xi (43a), xvi (7b), xl (19b), lxxx (8b).

Utt—xxxix (6b), lxiv (2a).

92 *Rv.*, iv, 6. 8; *Tait. Brā.*, 3, 8, 9, 3; *Tait. Āra.*, 10, 1, 5, 16; *Mbb.*

93 *Tait. Sam.*, v. 5. 17. 1; *Mait. Sam.*, iii. 14. 6; *Vaj. Sam.*, xxiv, 25. 39; *Mbb.*

95. DVI-JIHVA = Serpent. 'द्विजिह्वौ सर्पसूचकौ' इत्यमरः ।

Ayo—xlii (2a).

96. DVI-PA = Elephant.

AK. 127/183. द्वोभ्यां पिबति द्विपः ।

Adi—vi (26b).

Ayo—xxxix (42b), xlv (8b), xcvi (22a), ci (42a), ciii (13b)

Ara—xxx (27b), xxxiv (10b), xxxviii (5b), xli (3a), lix (41a), lxx (2b), lxxvi (17b), lxxviii (32a).

Kis—ii (8b), xv (29b).

Sun—iv (8b), xv (28b), xxxvii (19b), liii (2b), lx (7b), lxxiii (7a), lxxvii (23b), lxxx (19b), lxxxix (25b).

Yud—iv (2a), vii (34b), xxxi (10b), l (28a), li (85b), lvi (62b), lxx (6b), xci (14b).

Utt—vii (28a), xxi (24a).

97. DVIPI = Tiger, panther, leopard.

AK. 84/124. द्वौ वर्णावीयते द्वीपोस्तस्य वा । तन्निवासित्वाद् द्वीपो ।

Ayo—ciii (7a).

Ara—liii (42a).

Yud—xi (38b).

Utt—vii (20b, 21a), xxxi (13a).

98. DHṚTARĀṢṬRĪ = Name of a daughter of Tāmrā, mother of geese and other water birds.

AK. 129. कृष्णैश्च चरणैः । धृतराष्ट्रे—अमात्ये भवे धृतराष्ट्राः, राज हंसेभ्यो न्यूनत्वात् ।

Ara—xx (18a, 20a).

99. DHENŪ = Cow which has lately calved.

AK. 151/216. धयत्येनां धेनुः ।

Adi—lv—(1a).

Ayo—xxv (8a).

95 *Sān. Āra.*, 8, 7; *Mbb.*

96 *Kāśikā*, iv, 1, 8θ, 12; *Mbb.*,

97 *Av.*, iv, 8, 7; vi, 38, 2; xx, 49, 4; *Mait. Sam.*, ii, 1, 9; *Mbb.* (BORI), I, 60, 63b.

98 *Tān.*, *Brā.*, 26, 16, 3; *Sat. Brā.*, 13, 5, 4, 22.

99 *Rv.*, i, 32, 9; i, 134, 4, ii, 2, 2; ii, 34, 8; vi, 135, 8; *Av.*, v, 17, 18; vii, 104, 1; *Tait. Sam.*, ii, 6, 2, 3; *Mait. Sam.*, iv, 4, 8; *Vaj. Sam.*, xviii, 27; *Sat. Brā.*, ii, 2, 1, 21; *Mahābhāṣya*, I, 4, 1, 300; 5, 4, 77, 440.

Yud—viii (12b), cxiii (82a).

Utt—lv (9a, 11b, 13b, 22b).

100. NAKULA = The Bengal mongoose or Viverra Ichneumon.

Yud—xi (38a).

101. NAKRA = Crocodile.

AK. 43/65. न क्रामति नक्रः ।

Ayo—xxviii (15a), xlvii (3a), cxxiv (22a).

Ara—xvii (23a), xxvii (9a), lxi (18a).

Kis—xvi (36b), xlv (53b).

Sun—i (2b), xviii (29a), xxxv (42a), lxxii (13a), lxxv (28a), xciv (18a, 19a).

Utt—xxi (6a, 35c).

102. NANDINĪ = A kind of cow, mother of Surabhi.

Adi—liv (17b).

(To be continued)

SIBADAS CHAUDHURI

100 *Daiv. Brā.*, 2, 3; *Jaina. Brā.*, i, 545; *Kāśikā* (225), 5, 3, 107, 11; *Mbb.* (BORI), I, 2, 209b.

101 *Pāṇini*, vi, 3, 75; *Mbb.*

102 *Tait. Brā.*, 10, 1, 6, 16; *Mbb.* (BORI), I, 93, 16a.



# Muzaffarnagar during the Revolt of 1857-58

## *A historical study*

An event of epoch-making historical importance occurred in India during the year 1857-1858. The British imperialist historians have called it a 'Sepoy Mutiny'<sup>1</sup>, while the Indian nationalist writers have glorified and hallowed it as a 'War of Independence'<sup>2</sup>. Both of these appellations are the results of extreme view-points: the former is the product of imperialistic pride and arrogance and the latter that of Indian jingoism and extreme nationalism. A serious student of history has reasons to discard both of them, for they are wrong and too far-fetched.

### *Was it a Sepoy Mutiny ?*

Those writers who call the event simply a Sepoy Mutiny do not explain as to why they call it as such. Some of the protagonists of this view-point themselves have made some statements and remarks which go to prove something other than what their authors aimed at. These historians have failed to explain, for instance, as to why it was that in "several places the populace rose before the sepoys at those stations mutinied"<sup>3</sup>. Similarly we cannot just understand how "in the course of ten days English administration in Awadh (Oudh) vanished like a dream and not left a wrack behind"<sup>4</sup>. No sane person can believe that in the Uttar Pradesh 'mutineers' could march from place to place without a good system of supplies and a commissariat department, that they could leave their properties without any

1 Kaye & Mallison : *A History of the Sepoy War in India*; Ball : *History of Indian Mutiny*; Gubbins : *Mutineers in Oudh*; Forrest : *History of Indian Mutiny*; Duff : *History of the Indian Mutiny*.

2 Savarkar : *India's War of Independence*; Thompson : *The Other Side of the Medal*.

3 V. A. Smith : *Oxford History of India*, p. 722; Thompson : *The Other Side of the Medal*, p. 107.

4 G. W. Forrest : *History of Indian Mutiny*, vol. i, p. 217; Duff : *History of the Indian Mutiny*, vol. iii, p. 487.

guarantee for their safety and security and that they could always be posted with the latest information regarding the British movements and whereabouts without any system of posts, telephone and telegraph at their service<sup>5</sup>. And, above all, if it was simply a Sepoy Mutiny, then where was the necessity "to punish the country-people and citizens by fine and hanging for complicity in acts with which they had nothing to do"<sup>6</sup>.

### *Or a War of Independence ?*

Equally mistaken is the view that the soldiers in the Bengal Army, the common people and the ruling chiefs combined in a solid block and rose as one man against the British rulers—as is expected in every War of Independence. No doubt, the soldiers had their grievances against the abolition of their *bhatta* (allowance), but they could never even dream of joining hands with the civilians and make a common cause with them<sup>7</sup>. The soldiers of the Bengal Army were mainly responsible for the expansion of the British empire over the whole of India; they fought against many an Indian ruler and no one expected them to think of nationalism and patriotism. They were mercenaries first and everything afterwards.

Moreover, the rivalry and bitterness among the different princely members of the movement of 1857 did not slacken and cool down with its progress. After the mutineers at Delhi proclaimed Bahadur Shah, the last Mughul, as the Emperor of India and thus attempted to give a political and national form and significance to the movement, the Marathas, the Sikhs and the Rajputs remained dissatisfied. Nana Sahib, the adopted son of Peshwa Baji Rao II refused to go to Delhi and thereby "to be overshadowed by the Mughul court". He did not want to lose his power and influence among other Indian princes by joining the old Mughul 'emperor'<sup>8</sup> in the contest even for the sake of redeeming the country from foreign rule. Lord Canning admitted in one of his Despatches to the Court of Directors: "If the Scindhia joins the Mutiny, I shall have to pack off tomorrow"<sup>9</sup>. Likewise,

5 Charles Ball: *History of the Indian Mutiny*, vol. ii, p. 572.

6 W. H. Russell: *My Diary in India*, vol. ii, p. 259.

7 *Cambridge History of India*, vols. v and vi.

8 Forrest, vol. i, p. 420; Holmes: *History of the Indian Mutiny*, p. 228.

9 Quoted by Asoka Mehta: *The Great Rebellion*, p. 68.

the Rajput States decided to sit on the fence and watch the developments. They knew that the success of the movement would mean the revival of the power of the Marathas and the Mughuls and also the revival of the confusion and chaotic political condition that was the inevitable corollary. The Rajput chiefs were afraid of losing the security of their States given to them by the East India Company's government<sup>10</sup> if the movement succeeded. The Nizam also kept away from the movement for evident selfish reasons.<sup>11</sup> "The States", remarked Lord Canning, "acted as the breakwaters to the storm which would have otherwise swept us in one great wave."<sup>12</sup>

The Indians in the employ of the East India Company as well as the educated Indians remained loyal to the British and from the innermost corner of their hearts were opposed to the success of the movement.<sup>13</sup> The same was the case with the merchants and the business community.<sup>14</sup> The money-lenders and traders helped the British against the strugglers for independence<sup>15</sup>. They went a step further than the educated class. John W. Kaye, the author of *History of the Sepoy War in India* felt "much sincerity in those professions on the part of... trading classes, who commonly lost more than they gained by these convulsions"<sup>16</sup>.

### *It was an unorganized Revolt*

Obviously, it would be wrong to call the events of 1857-58 either a Sepoy Mutiny or a War of Independence. In fact it was a combined effort of some dissatisfied elements, both civil and military. Soldiers in the armies of the East India Company, the common people and the ruling chiefs took part in this movement, but all of them were people who had some personal interest and had joined it with selfish motives. Though these people co-operated with one another during some part of the movement, their co-operation was neither all-sided nor whole-hearted. Each wanted to get some benefit by joining it, but

10 Holmes, p. 395.

11 Holmes, p. 500; Fraser: *Our Faithful Ally*, the Nizam.

12 Roberts: *India*, vol. ii, p. 388.

13 Holmes, p. 143 & 160; Kaye, vol. ii, p. 117.

14 Holmes, p. 45, 163, 170, 188 and 252. See specially page 252.

15 Sir John Strachey: *India*, p. 427; Holmes, p. 252.

16 Kaye, vol. ii, pp. 259-60; Cooper: *Crisis in the Punjab*, pp 208-12.

no one cared to frame out a concerted plan of action. It was a disorganized mob movement without any semblance of unity of purpose and plan and a leaderless performance. The movement was the result of a momentary flash of imagination and an idea born in the minds of some ambitious and dissatisfied persons who could not at that time realize the significance and consequences of their doings and were incapable of combined action. The events of 1857-58 can better be described as the Indian Revolt of 1857-58. It was a revolt of some dissatisfied soldiers, common people and ruling chiefs who had suffered from the expansion of British rule in India. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya has rightly pointed out: "If a mutiny succeeds, it becomes a revolution and if a revolution fails, it becomes a mutiny"<sup>17</sup> The Revolt of 1857 is dubbed as a mutiny as it failed, and it is applauded as a war of independence as it was the first of a series of attempts to win for the motherland her freedom from foreign domination.

### *The outbreak*

The first signs of the Revolt revealed themselves at Barrackpore when Mangal Pandey, belonging to the 34th Native Infantry, refused to obey the commander and defied the adjutant on 29th March 1857 and declared that "he would shoot any European who came in his way"<sup>18</sup>. The fire began smouldering. The dissatisfaction of the army stationed at Meerut started early in April. The 3rd Bengal Army (Cavalry), which was ordered to use a new kind of cartridges, refused to do so on the ground that grease was used in their manufacture. One Brij Mohan, a trooper, offered to use the cartridges with the result that the infuriated troopers burnt Brij Mohan's house on 13th April<sup>19</sup>. April 23rd was fixed for the parade of the 3rd Cavalry, but the soldiers refused to use the cartridges. They were arrested and tried by court-martial. Eighty of them were condemned for 10 years' and five for 5 years' imprisonment on the 9th of May, 1857. The convicts were placed in the jail near Suraj Kund at Meerut under the guard of the 20th Native Infantry. On Sunday the 10th May, the 20th Native Infantry decided to have recourse to arms

17 Sitaramayya in *the Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Independence Number. 1947, p. 17.

18. Beveridge, *Comprehensive History of India*, vol. iii, p. 560.

19 Atkinson: *N. W. P. Gazetteer*, vol. iii; Keene: *Fifty Seven*, chap. i.

and thus the final out-burst took place at Meerut between 5 and 6 in the evening on the 10th of May, 1857. The infuriated Infantrymen shot down Colonel Finnis who approached to pacify them, Captain Macdonald attempted to calm them down next but was murdered and Mr. Tregear became the third victim. The soldiers of the 3rd Cavalry rushed to the jails and got their comrades released, the guards not checking them at all<sup>20</sup>. The Revolt had started and the contagion began spreading.

Muzaffarnagar district being just next to Meerut could not escape the repercussions of this epoch-making event and daring of the soldiers. Immediately after the outburst an attempt was made to contact Agra, the capital of the North-Western Provinces, but the wires between Meerut and Agra were cut before the message was completed. Therefore express despatches were sent to Muzaffarnagar, Delhi and Bulandshahar.<sup>21</sup>

#### *Immediate repercussions*

When the Revolt broke out, Mr. Berford, the Magistrate and Collector of Muzaffarnagar was out on a leave and spending his days in the adjoining district of Saharanpur. He had already applied for a long leave and, therefore, was expecting to be relieved any day. When the news of the outbreak at Meerut reached him, he became anxious about the affairs in his own district. Exaggerated reports of the events at Meerut and Muzaffarnagar were conveyed to him.<sup>22</sup> Due to the suddenness of the outbreak and its unexpected nature, Mr. Berford became confused and he lost his presence of mind and self confidence. He ordered all the public offices to be closed,<sup>23</sup> for, according to him, they could not function properly when there was mutiny, massacre and confusion all over the district. This unwise step of the Magistrate and Collector, however, worked as a stimulant and encouraged the rebels and insurgents for grosser actions of wanton destruction. People as a whole, belonging to all classes, began to think that the Government of the East India Company has become too weak to

20 Edwards: *Narrative of the Disturbances*; Keene: *Fifty Seven*.

21 Atkinson: *Statistical, Descriptive and Historical Account of the N. W. Provinces*, vol. iii, p. 327ff.

22 Atkinson: *Gazetteer*, iii, p. 729.

23 *Ibid*, pp. 629ff.

maintain its hold and rule over a big empire. Very soon this opinion gained currency. People really believed that the British are going to be exterminated<sup>24</sup>. The law courts could not be opened before the disturbances were finally suppressed. This encouraged disaffection all the more.

### *Distribution of population*

Muzaffarnagar district is bounded by the Ganga and the Yamuna on two sides, while an "imaginary boundary on the northern side"<sup>25</sup> separates it from Saharanpur district. The district could conveniently be divided into three in regard to its population as it was before and during the Revolt. On the eastern side were the Muslim Sayyid landlords who were Shias by faith, and emigrants from Persia. Naturally they were less attached to the Indian Muslims than the Sunnis and were "in favour of a foreign...government"<sup>26</sup>. On the western side we were to find the majority of the land owned by village communities of mixed faith. In the central portion of the district the Jats and the Gujars dominated the land and the affairs therein. There were also some scattered but powerful clusters of Rohila Pathans whose headquarters were at Thana Bhawan and Jalalabad.

### *Why did the Revolt spread ?*

Disturbances in the district headquarters were due mainly to the weakness and the hesitant mood of the Magistrate and the subordinate authorities incharge of the district administration.<sup>27</sup> Mr. Berford was not supported by a trustworthy and efficient staff and he alone could not cope with the emergency. A party of the 4th Irregular Cavalry sent to the help of the Magistrate mutinied and murdered its European officers. The bad characters of the district got an opportunity. They rose and committed excesses of all kinds. Berford had to order all Europeans of the chief town and the district to leave their bungalows and assemble at the tahsils, i.e., offices of the sub-

24 Mac Munn: *The Indian Mutiny in Perspective*.

25 Keene: Chapter I.

26 Keene: *Ibid*.

27 Cave-Brown: *The Punjab and Delhi in 1857*; Keene: *Fifty Seven*, C. Raikes: *Notes on the Revolt in the N. W. Provinces*; Edward Thompson: *The Other Side of the Medal*.

28 Keene: Chapter I.

collectors of revenue, managed by tahsildars. Berford himself took refuge in the house of Imdad Husain, the Sayyid tahsildar of the place who lived in Mohalla Abupura<sup>29</sup>. From Imdad Husain's house at Abupura Mr. Berford issued orders for the release of prisoners from the jail and also attempted to administer the district as best he could. The immediate result of the Magistrate taking refuge in Abupura was that the North-Western Provinces Secretary C. B. Thornhill had to report to the India Government Secretary C. Beadon that throughout the district "turbulence have become much more common than at Saharanpur"<sup>30</sup>. Imdad Husain, the tahsildar (Sub-collector of revenue) was a Sayyid and a landowner on the eastern side of the district. He helped Mr. Berford immensely and stood by the side of the Magistrate and the fallen authorities—a service for which he was handsomely rewarded after the disturbances were suppressed<sup>31</sup>.

#### *A weak Magistrate-Collector*

The suppression of the Revolt in the district required a man of extraordinary ability ; it was too much for Mr. Berford and he soon found himself unequal to the task. Consequently on 29th May 1857 he attempted to escape to Meerut and thus save himself from further indignity, but he could not move out of the mohalla he was living in<sup>32</sup>. For some time he received neither any assistance nor any authentic intelligence from the authorities at Meerut, though the latter town was only 33 miles distant from Muzaffarnagar. The first aid reached the chief town and headquarters of the district on the day Berford was to escape, i.e., 29th May, when Lieutenant Clarke arrived with his forces<sup>33</sup>.

All this while Mr. Berford had been an applicant for leave of absence due to his ill-health. Mr. Greathed the Commissioner knew this full well and therefore on 24th June 1857, he despatched from Saharanpur the Joint-Magistrate of that district, Mr. R. M. Edwards, to take charge of Muzaffarnagar district from Mr. Berford. The

29 Atkinson vol. iii, pp. 327ff.

30 *National Archives of India Home Department, Public Proceedings*, No. 1 of November 11, 1857.

32 *N. W. P. Gazetteer*, vol. iii.

33 Keene: Chapter I.

out-going officer gladly gave over the charge to the new-comer on July 1, 1857<sup>34</sup>. He was accompanied by a body of Gorkha soldiers.

### *Early efforts to suppress the Revolt*

Mr. R. M. Edwards was a capable man. Immediately after taking over the district administration in his hands, he started re-organizing the whole machinery and looking after the proper maintenance of law, peace and order. The public business had been upset during the weak administration of Berford. The district was all in confusion; various false rumours were in the air; roads and highways were unsafe and the means of communications were most inefficient and interrupted by robbers and bandits<sup>35</sup>. Mr. Edwards who came from Saharanpur "so well and energetically kept in hand by Mr. Spankie"<sup>36</sup> marked this disturbed state of affairs still more. He, however, set to work.

A number of military parties were sent in different directions, east and west, north and south, and with their help the means of communications were restored. He had brought along with him a body of Gorkha soldiers who proved of immense value<sup>37</sup>. Major Williams of the Thagi department, who came down from Mussoorie, took an active part in the operations against the dacoits and plunderers and made some examples with the result that civil authority was re-established<sup>38</sup>. On August 27, a further Gorkha reinforcement was received.

Greathed the Commissioner wrote the same day to Sir William Muir, Secretary to the North-Western Provinces Government at Agra that Muzaffarnagar was in quite good order and that the outbreak at the headquarters of the district had come under control. "The roads are safe and the revenue is being collected"<sup>39</sup>. Mr. Edwards started

34 *National Archives, Home Deptt., Public Branch, No. 1 of 11 November, 1857.*

35 Keene: *Fifty Seven*, Chapter, I.

36 Keene: *Ibid.*

37 Atkinson: *Statistical, Descriptive and Historical Account of the N. W. Provinces*, volume iii.

38 *National Archives, Home Deptt., Public Branch, No. 1 of 11 November 1857.*

39 *Records of the Intelligence Department of the Govt. of the N. W. Provinces during the Mutiny of 1857.* Edited by Sir William Muir, vol. ii, Page 145.



the collection of the land revenue immediately after some order was restored. "By the end of August 1857 Rupees 2,70,535 were remitted to Meerut after paying all the district expenses and this too 'without the sacrifice of a single life and without mal-treating in any way a single soul'"<sup>40</sup>.

### *The Meerut contagion spreads*

According to a letter from Meerut received at Agra on 1st September 1857, the disturbances at Meerut were influencing the people and affairs at Muzaffarnagar and inciting them to further rebellion. Says the letter: "All right above (Saharanpur), but Muzaffarnagar feeling a little the effects of disaffection below (Meerut and the south); crime appearing again, but Edwards has some more Gorkhas and will have two mountain train guns and will stop it"<sup>41</sup>. The disaffection, however, did spread over the whole district.

### *The centres of Revolt*

On the west the chief centre of the revolt was the town of Shamli, which even now, as then, is a commercial town, a *mandi*. Shamli was inhabited mainly by the Jats and other Hindus who are all agriculturists and a turbulent people. The tahsildar of the place, Ibrahim Khan, a Pathan, was on bad terms with Mohar Singh, the leader of the people of the town. Mohar Singh asserted his independence and entered into correspondence with the revolting people of Delhi and the court of Bahadur Shah Mughul. Disturbances became common throughout the area inhabited by the Jats and it soon spread over the whole of the northern portion of the district.<sup>42</sup> Early in September Mr. Edwards sent a force to aid Ibrahim Khan and himself reached there after a few days.

At Thana Bhawan the Shaikhzadas rose in revolt and were joined in by the Jats who began plundering the highways and thus creating a lot of confusion. Qazi Mahboob Ali Khan and Qazi Inayat Ali Khan assumed the leadership of the insurgents of Thana Bhawan. These people revolted on the pretext that one of their men was court-martialled and executed at Saharanpur<sup>43</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> Atkinson: *Gazetteer of the N. W. P.* volume iii, p. 629.

<sup>41</sup> *Records of the Intelligence Department*, Edited by W. Muir, vol. ii, p. 170.

<sup>42</sup> Keene: *Fifty Seven*, Chapter I; Edwards: *Narrative*.

<sup>43</sup> Atkinson: *Gazetteer*, vol. iii,

Khairati Khan the Pindari leader revolted at his headquarters at Parasauli in pargana Kandhla. The residence of the Pindari leader was attacked by Mr. Grant on September 2, 1857, which, however, was a failure. The Pindaris were too powerful. Khairati Khan after this success occupied the old fort of Budhana and made it his headquarters<sup>44</sup>.

Starting from Shamli in the second week of September, leaving behind a small force there Mr. Edwards moved towards the fort of Budhana and captured it from Khairati Khan after a stiff fighting on 15th September. Reinforcing himself with two horse-guns and 100 Sikhs the Magistrate turned his attention towards Shamli. But, during his absence at Budhana, the Thana Bhawan people had attacked Shamli and surrounded the office of Ibrahim Khan the tahsildar<sup>45</sup>. The tahsildar surrendered to the rebels only after further resistance became impossible on 14th September. One hundred and thirteen persons were murdered in cold blood by the victors.

A government circular issued on 27th September states : "The district of Muzaffarnagar is in a disturbed state owing to the outrages of a large body of rebels"<sup>46</sup>.

Mr. Edwards received some further reinforcements from Saharanpur and Meerut. His force now included a party of the Sikhs, both infantry and cavalry as also a party of the Gorkhas, besides the two horse-artillery guns. He was joined by two young officers, Messrs. Swinton Melville and Malcolm Low, who had been sent for his assistance by Mr. Spankie from Saharanpur. Enforced with this new aid, Edwards decided to measure swords with the Thana Bhawan insurgents and crush their rising. He attacked them with this force at a high velocity in mid-September. The storming party was led by Captain Smith and Lieutenant Cuyler. Many outlying buildings were seized and the advance guard effected an entry into the town by scaling the walls. But the main force could not come up in time and hence the attack had to be withdrawn. There was a hand-to-hand fighting when a retreat was staged. Melville and Low rendered a great service during the retreat by leading cavalry charges<sup>47</sup>. Before

44 Keene, *op. cit.*; Edwards, *op. cit.*

45 *Ibid.*

46 *Records of the Intelligence Department*, vol. ii, p. 187.

47 Edwards : *Narrative*; Keene : *Fifty Seven*; Atkinson : *Gazetteer*, III.

the end of September, 1857, however, a fresh army was received and with its help Thana Bhawan was occupied<sup>48</sup>. This time the Magistrate-Collector did not have to spend much of his energy. The assault of Delhi by the British forces took place on the 14th September which set at liberty sufficient forces for the suppression of the insurgents in the neighbourhood.

Shamli was the next centre to be pacified soon after the fall of Delhi.

This was practically the last incident in the district which can be related with the great Revolt. Peace was restored in Muzaffarnagar by the end of September 1857 when ordinary routine administration was resumed.

### *Disarming the people*

Even before the Revolt was completely suppressed, the Government had decided to disarm the people. As early as 20th July 1857 Colonel R. J. H. Birch, Secretary to the military department of the Government of India received a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Orfeur Cavenagh (No. 1049) urging the Government to adopt "measures not only to check at once large-scale sale of fire-arms to natives but also to render, at the expiration of a certain limited period, the possession of such weapons, the same not having been duly registered in the office of the Commissioner of Police, a criminal act, subjecting the offender to a penalty of being punished either by fine or imprisonment"<sup>49</sup>. The Governor-General Lord Canning was impressed by the idea and therefore on 8th January 1858 in his letter No. 32 the Indian Government Secretary C. Beadon informed the North-Western Provinces Government Secretary C. B. Thornhill: "It is the intention of the Governor-General in Council completely to disarm the population of the North-Western Provinces (old name for the Uttar Pradesh) as soon as it is in the power of the government to do so... .."<sup>50</sup> In accordance with the policy enunciated in the above-mentioned note, the Magistrate and Collectors of the districts of the province were

48 Edwards, *op. cit.*; Keene, *op. cit.*; Atkinson, *op. cit.*,

49 *National Archives of India*, Home Deptt., Public Proceedings, No. 85 of July 31, 1857.

50 *Ibid.* No. 282 of January 8, 1858

invested "with the powers of entry, search and seizure, under section xxiv Act XXVIII of 1857". Section V of the same Act prohibited people from "going armed without a certificate or license". All arms were to be deposited at the *thana* or the police station; "the exemption to carry arms under section V is to be given sparingly". It was decided that arms be allowed only to persons of "rank of respectability combined with signal loyalty"<sup>51</sup>.

The first operation of a general character towards disarming the population was undertaken in Saharanpur district. A similar measure was introduced in Muzaffarnagar. "Up to the middle of June, 1858, 55,912 arms of all sorts had been delivered up:—

Iron bound clubs	...	...	3,816
Shields	...	...	2,928
Powder horns	...	...	227 ..." <sup>52</sup>

These operations were accomplished without much difficulty to the administration or opposition from the people. But the government was of opinion that the disarming was far from being complete. According to Sir William Muir, "as many more weapons as have already been surrendered would be found out"<sup>53</sup>.

Since 1857-58 the district has been always peacefully governed but for the minor civil cases and criminal trials and punishments.

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51 *National Archives*, Home, Public, No. 21 of January 7, 1859,

52 W. Muir: *Memorandum on Disarming of the North-Western Provinces in NAI*, Home, Public Proceedings, No. 54 of February 25, 1859,

53 *Ibid.*

## Abhidharma Texts in Tibetan

The Abhidharma is the third division of the Tripiṭaka. It deals mainly with the psycho-analysis of the mind of the meditating monk. In other words, it treats of different aspects of mind-culture enabling one to attain the perfect knowledge. Thus it may compare favourably with the Western Psychology in its contents. The difference is that the former treats of the mind of the religious personages while the latter of an average individual.

In the Pāli tradition<sup>1</sup>, it is said that Buddha first preached the Abhidhamma to the Tāvatiṃsa gods while living among them on the Paṇḍukambala rock at the foot of the Pāricchattaka tree in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven during his visit to his mother there. Subsequently he preached it to Sāriputta who used to go to the bank of the Anoratta lake to serve Buddha there during his visit to Tāvatiṃsa. Then it was handed down by Sāriputta to Bhaddaji and by successive succession of disciples it reached Revata and others, and it took its final form in the Third Council held during the reign of king Aśoka. The Kashmirian Vaibhāṣikas, however, maintain that Buddha delivered sermons to different persons, at different places, and at different times. They were later on collected by the arhats and the śrāvakas, and were worked into Abhidharma texts by them<sup>2</sup>.

The Sarvāstivādins, as well as the Theravādins, each have Abhidharma literature of their own. The former had the enormous literature in Sanskrit, while the latter in Pāli. But it is a matter for regret that the works of the Sarvāstivādins are preserved either in Tibetan or Chinese translations or in both, with the exceptions of the *Abbidharmakośa*<sup>3</sup> of Vasubandhu and the *Sphuṭārthā Abbidharmakośavyākhyā*<sup>4</sup> of Yaśomitra, which are available in the Sanskrit ori-

1 *Atthasālinī*, pp. 28-32, *Sammobhavīnodanī*, p. 1, *Manorathapūraṇī*, I, 77, and also Oldenberg's Introduction to the *Vinaya-piṭaka*, p. XXXIV.

2 *Abbidharmakośabhāṣya*, B. B. p. 7.

3 Ed. by V. V. Gokhale in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (New series), vol. 22, 1946, pp. 76-100.

4 Ed. by Wogihara of Japan and an incomplete edition by Dr. N. N. Law.

ginals. It should, however, be mentioned that the largest number of works is available in Chinese translations.

Here is given a list of Abhidharma texts in Tibetan:—

1. གདན་གསུམ་པའི་བསྟན་བཅོས་ (*Prajñaptiśāstra*)—is the last of the six *Pāda* works of the Sarvāstivāda school. It was composed by the venerable Mahāmaudgalyāyana. It is the only early Abhidharma treatise rendered into Tibetan. It was also translated into Chinese<sup>5</sup>. In Tibetan the work contains three parts, *viz.*, འཛིག་རྟེན་གཞག་པ་ (*Lokaprajñapti*), རྒྱ་གདན་གསུམ་པ་ (*Kāraṇaprajñapti*) and ལས་གདན་གསུམ་པ་ (*Karmaprajñapti*).<sup>6</sup> It appears in Bstan-hgyur, Mñon-pa, vol. I, folios 1b<sup>1</sup>-229a<sup>7</sup> (Sde-dge, ed.) while in Mdo-hgrel, vol. Khu, folios 1-281a<sup>8</sup> (Snarhang, ed.). The འཛིག་རྟེན་གཞག་པ་ and the རྒྱ་གདན་གསུམ་པ་ again each contains seven chapters, while the ལས་གདན་གསུམ་པ་ five chapters only. This treatise containing, as it does, three parts deals with the three different problems. The first part (འཛིག་རྟེན་གཞག་པ་) gives us an idea of the world-system, the second (རྒྱ་གདན་གསུམ་པ་) mentions the characteristics of a bodhisattva, and the third (ལས་གདན་གསུམ་པ་) deals with the different kinds of acts.

2. ཆོས་སངས་པའི་སངས་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་ཆོས་ལུ་བྱས་པ་ (*Abhidharmakośa-kārikā*)<sup>7</sup> deals with almost all the philosophical topics contained in the Abhidharma treatises. It is rather a digest of the seven Abhidharma treatises. In this work we also find a refutation of the views of the Vaibhāsikas. Venerable Vasubandhu is the author of this work while Jinamitra and Śrīkūṭarakṣita are the translators into Tibetan. It also exists in Chinese<sup>8</sup>. The work, as already observed, is available in original Sanskrit. It consists of nine chapters dealing

5 Bunyiu Nanjio—*A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, No. 1317.

6 *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, ed. Hukuju Ui and others, Nos. 4086, 4087, 4088 and *Catalogue du fonds Tibétain*, pt. III, ed. P. Cordier, pp. 392, 393.

7 *Ibid*, No. 4089 and *Ibid*, p. 394.

8 Bunyiu Nanjio—*A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, No. 1270.

with topics on *dhātus*, *indriyas*, *lokas*, *karmas*, *anuśayas*, *mārgas*, *jñānas*, *samāpattis* and *pudgalas*. It 'claims to be a key to the knowledge of all that the oldest Buddhism represented in the field of thought and action, in ontology, psychology, cosmology, theory and practice of discipline, philosophy of action, mysticism, life of a superman'. It appears in Bstan-hgyur, Mñon-pa, vol. Ku, folios 1b<sup>1</sup>-25a<sup>7</sup> (sde-dge, ed.) while in Mdo-hgrel, vol. Gu, folios 1-27b<sup>6</sup> (Snarhang, ed.). *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu* of Louis de la Vallée Poussin is a monumental translation with introduction and notes in French of the *Abhidharmakośa*. It is a brilliant contribution to the study of Buddhist philosophical thought—its importance has been acknowledged by all Buddhist scholars for a proper understanding of the main Abhidharma teachings.

3. ཆོས་སངས་པ་འི་སེའོ་ཏྲེ་བཤད་པ། (*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*)<sup>9</sup>— is a commentary on the ཆོས་སངས་པ་འི་སེའོ་ཏྲེ་ཆོག་ལུང་རྩམ་པ། (*Abhidharmakośakārikā*) mentioned above. Venerable Vasubandhu is the author of this work while Jinamitra and Śrīkūṭarakṣita are the translators into Tibetan. The text appears in Bstan-hgyur, Mñon-pa, vols. Ku and Khu, folios 26b<sup>1</sup>-258a<sup>7</sup> and folios 1b<sup>1</sup>-95a<sup>7</sup> respectively (Sde-dge, ed.) while Mdo-hgrel, vols. Gu and Nu, folios 27b<sup>6</sup>-302a<sup>8</sup> and folios 1-109a<sup>8</sup> respectively (Snarhang, ed.). Considering the importance of his *Abhidharmakośa* Vasubandhu himself wrote this commentary (*bhāṣya*) to elucidate the abstruse philosophical teachings contained in the work. It has thus positively enhanced the value of the work as a commentary. The Tibetan version of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* has been edited by Th. Stcherbatsky<sup>10</sup>. It also exists in Chinese<sup>11</sup>.

9 *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, ed. Hukuju Ui and others, No. 4090 and *Catalogue du fonds Tibétain*, pt. III, ed. P. Cordier, p. 394. Mr. Pradhan of Viswabharati, Santiniketan has brought out an edition of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* on the basis of the manuscript brought down from Tibet by Rahula Sankrityana.

10 *Bibl. Buddh.* XX.

11 Bunyiu Nanjio—*A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, Nos. 1207 and 1269.

• 4. ཆོས་མངོན་པ་མཛོད་ཀྱི་བསྟན་བཅོས་ཀྱི་ཆོག་ལེའུར་ བྱས་པའི་ནམ་  
པར་བཤད་པ ( *Abhidharmakośaśāstrakārikābhāṣya* )<sup>12</sup>—is attributed to  
the venerable Saṅghabhadra, an opponent of Vasubandhu. It contains  
120,000 *ślokas* supporting the *Vibhāṣā* and refuting the *Kośa*<sup>13</sup>. It  
appears in Bstan-hgyur, Mñon-pa, vol. Khu, folios 95b<sup>1</sup>-266a<sup>7</sup> (Sde-dge,  
ed.) while in Mdo-hgrel, vol. Ñu, folios 109a<sup>8</sup>-304a<sup>6</sup> (Snarchang, ed).  
It exists in Chinese<sup>14</sup>. In Nanjio's *Catalogue* the name given is  
*Abhidharma-(piṭaka)-prakaraṇa-śāstra*.

5. ཆོས་མངོན་པའི་མཛོད་ཀྱི་འགྲེལ་ བཤད ( *Abhidharmakośaṭīkā* or  
*Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* )<sup>15</sup>—is a commentary on the  
ཆོས་མངོན་པའི་མཛོད་ཀྱི་བཤད་པ ( *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* ). It appears  
in Bstan-hgyur, Mñon-pa, vols. Gu (folios 1b<sup>1</sup>-330a<sup>7</sup>) and Ñu (folios  
1b<sup>1</sup>-333a<sup>7</sup>) of the Sde-dge, ed., while in Mdo-hgrel, vols. Cu (folios  
1-383a<sup>8</sup>) and Chu (folios 1-408a<sup>8</sup>) of the Snartlang, ed. The author  
of this work is Yaśomitra while Visuddhasiṃha and Śrīkūṭa are the  
translators into Tibetan. As noticed above, the work is available in  
the original Sanskrit. It is of course a running commentary on  
the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* of Vasubandhu. But the work is not  
mechanical. It does not fail to be critical where criticism is really  
called for.

6. ཆོས་མངོན་པའི་མཛོད་ཀྱི་འགྲེལ་བཤད་མཚན་ཉིད་ཀྱི་རྗེས་སྟུང་བྲང་  
བ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ ( *Abhidharmakośaṭīkālakṣaṇānnusāriṇīnāma* )<sup>16</sup>—appears in  
Bstan-hgyur, Mñon-pa, vols. Cu (folios 1b<sup>1</sup>-347a<sup>7</sup>) and Chu (folios  
1b<sup>1</sup>-322a<sup>7</sup>) of the Sde-dge, ed., while in Mdo-hgrel, vols. Ju (folios  
1-408a<sup>8</sup>) and Ñu (folios 1-391a<sup>7</sup>) of the Snarchang, ed. The

12 *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, ed. Hukuju Ui  
and others, No. 4091, *Catalogue du fonds Tibétain*, pt. III, ed. P. Cordier, pp.  
394, 395.

13 *Tong-pao*, July, 1904, pp. 289-290.

14 Bunyiu Nanjio—*A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist  
Tripiṭaka*, No. 1266.

15 *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, ed. Hukuju Ui  
and others, No. 4092 and *Catalogue du fonds Tibétain*, pt. III, ed. P. Cordier,  
p. 395.

16 *Ibid.*, No. 4093 and *Ibid.*, pp. 395, 396.



authorship of this work is ascribed to Pūrṇavardhana—a pupil of Sthiramati and the teacher of Jinamitra and Śilendrabodhi, and Kanakavarman and Pa-tshab Ni-ma-grags translated it into Tibetan. It does not exist in Chinese.

7. ཚེས་མངོན་པའི་མཛོད་ཀྱི་འབྲེལ་བ་གནད་ཉི་བར་མཁོ་བ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ  
(*Abhidharmakoṣaṭīkopāyikānāma*)<sup>17</sup>—exists in Tibetan only. It appears in Bstan-hgyur, Mñon-pa, vols. Ju (folios 1b<sup>1</sup>-287a<sup>7</sup>) and Nu (folios 1b<sup>1</sup>-95a<sup>7</sup>) of the Sde-dge, ed., while in Mdo-hgrel, vols. Tu (folios 1-296a<sup>3</sup>) and Thu (folios 1-144a<sup>7</sup>) of the Snarthang, ed. The authorship of this work is attributed to Śāntisthiradeva and Jayasrī and Prajñāprabha is the translator into Tibetan.

8. ཚེས་མངོན་པའི་[མཛོད་ཀྱི་འབྲེལ་བ་གནད་ཀྱི་སྒྲིན་མ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ  
(*Abhidharma[koṣa]vṛttimarmadīpanāma*)<sup>18</sup>—exists in Tibetan only. It appears in Bstan-hgyur, Mñon-pa, vol. Nu, folios 95b<sup>1</sup>-214a<sup>7</sup>, Sde-dge, ed., while in Mdo-hgrel, vol. Thu, folios 144a<sup>8</sup>-286b<sup>1</sup>, Snarthang, ed. The author of this work is Dīnāga, and Rnal-hbyor-zla-ba and Hjam-hpal-gzhon-pa are its translators into Tibetan.

9. ཚེས་མངོན་པ་ལ་འཇུག་པ་ལྟ་ཆེར་འབྲེལ་བ་སྒྲིང་པོ་ཀྱན་ལས་བདུས་  
བ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ ( *Sārasamuccayanāma-abhidharmāvatāraṭīkā*)<sup>19</sup> — appears only in Tibetan, Bstan-hgyur, Mñon-pa, vol. Nu, folios 237a<sup>2</sup>-302a<sup>7</sup>, Sde-dge, ed., while in Mdo-hgrel, vol. Thu, folios 315a<sup>2</sup>-393a<sup>2</sup>, Snarthang, ed. The text was translated into Tibetan by Jinamitra, Dānaśīla and Ye-śes sde—the name of the author is not known.

10. རབ་ཏུ་བྱེད་པ་ཚེས་མངོན་པ་ལ་འཇུག་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ (*Abhidharmāvatāraprakaraṇānāma*)<sup>20</sup>—appears in Bstan-hgyur, Mñon-pa, vol. Nu, folios 302a<sup>7</sup>-323a<sup>7</sup>, Sde-dge, ed., while in Mdo-hgrel, vol. Thu, folios 393a<sup>3</sup>-417a<sup>8</sup>, Snarthang, ed. The names of both the author and the translator are wanting. The work is 'devoted briefly to

17 *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, ed. Hukuju Ui and others, No. 4094 and *Catalogue du fonds Tibétan*, pt. III, ed. P. Cordier, pp. 396, 397.

18 *Ibid*, No. 4095 and *Ibid*, p. 397.

19 *Ibid*, No. 4097 and *Ibid*, p. 398.

20 *Ibid*, No. 4098 and *Ibid*, p. 398.

the exposition of the five skandhas, viz., rūpa, vedanā, saṃjñā, saṃskāra and vijñāna, and the three asaṃskṛta dhātus, viz., ākāśa, prati-saṃkhyānirodha and apratisaṃkhyānirodha. It exists in Chinese<sup>21</sup>. In Chinese the work is called *Abhidharmāvatāraśāstra*.

11. ཆོས་མངོན་པ་ཀུན་ལས་བདས་པ་ (*Abhidharmasamuccaya*)<sup>22</sup>—appears in Bstan-hgyur, Sems-tsam, vol. Ri, folios 1b<sup>1</sup>-77a<sup>7</sup>, 44b<sup>1</sup>-120a<sup>7</sup>, Sde-dge, ed., while Mdo-hgrel, vol. Li, folios 51a<sup>2</sup>-141b<sup>2</sup>, Snarthag, ed. Asaṅga is the author of this treatise while Jinamitra, Śilendrabodhi and Ye-śes sde are the translators into Tibetan. It exists in Chinese.<sup>23</sup>

12. ཆོས་མངོན་པ་ཀུན་ལས་བདས་པ་འི་བཤད་པ་ (*Abhidharmasamuccayabhāṣya*)<sup>24</sup>—appears in Bstan-hgyur, Sems-tsam, vol. Li, folios 1b<sup>1</sup>-117a<sup>5</sup>, Sde-dge, ed., while in Mdo-hgrel, vol. Śi, folios 1-143b<sup>2</sup>, Snarthag, ed. The authorship is ascribed to Jinaputra, while the translators are Jinamitra, Śilendrabodhi and Ye-śes sde. It is a commentary on the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* noticed just above.

13. མངོན་པ་ཆོས་ཀུན་ལས་བདས་པ་འི་ནམ་པར་བཤད་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ (*Abhidharmasamuccayavyākhyānāma*)<sup>25</sup>—appears in Bstan-hgyur, Sems-tsam, vol. Li, folios 117a<sup>5</sup>-293a<sup>7</sup>, Sde-dge, ed., while in Mdo-hgrel, vol. Śi, folios 143b<sup>2</sup>-362a<sup>8</sup>, Snarthag, ed. Jinaputra is the author of this work. Jinamitra and Ni-ma-rgyal-mtshan are the translators into Tibetan. The work is a commentary (*Vyākhyā*) on the *Abhidharmasamuccayabhāṣya* noticed above. It exists in Chinese.<sup>26</sup>

21 Bunyiu Nanjio—*A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, No. 1291.

22 *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, ed. Hukuju Ui and others, No. 4049 and *Catalogue du fonds Tibétain*, pt. III, ed. P. Cordier, p. 383. The Sanskrit original of this work has been brought down from Tibet by Prof. Tucci.

23 Bunyiu Nanjio—*A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, No. 1199.

24 *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, ed. Hukuju Ui and others, No. 4053 and *Catalogue du fonds Tibétain*, pt. III, ed. P. Cordier, p. 384.

25 *Ibid*, No. 4054 and *Ibid*, p. 384.

26 Bunyiu Nanjio—*A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, No. 1178.

14. ཆས་མངོན་པ་མཛོད་ཀྱི་བཤད་པའི་གྲུ་ཆེར་འགྲེལ་པ་དོན་གྱི་དེ་

ཁོ་ན་ཉིད་ཅེས་བྱ་བ་ (*Abhidharmakośa bhāṣyaṭīkā tattvārthanāma*)<sup>27</sup>— appears in Bstan-hgyur, Sna-tshogs, vol. Tho, folios 1 b<sup>1</sup>-42 6a<sup>7</sup>, Sde-dge, ed., while in Mdo-hgrel, vols. To (folios 1-385a<sup>8</sup>), and Tho (folios 1-565a<sup>8</sup>), Snarthag, ed. Ācārya Sthiramati is the author of this work, while Dharmapālabhadra is the translator into Tibetan.

We have dealt with the treatises, preserved in Tibetan, dealing with Abhidharma topics. Compared with other philosophical treatises in Tibetan there is paucity of Abhidharma texts in it. The reason is not far to seek. The Abhidharma texts were popular and widely read in the early days of Buddhism, i.e., in the pre-Christian eras. In the 6th or 7th century A.D. when Buddhism was introduced into Tibet, the Indian monks attached more importance to the philosophical works of the Mādhyamika, Yogācāra and other later schools of Buddhism, and so to Tibet were taken mainly the works of those schools. Thus in Tibetan are wanting translations of early Buddhist texts on Sūtra, Vinaya and Abhidharma. There is only one version of the Vinaya in Tibetan and it belongs to the later Buddhist sect called the Mūlasarvāstivāda. The few Abhidharma treatises mentioned above, with the solitary exception of the *Prajñaptiśāstra*, belong to the later Buddhist sects and are mostly commentaries on Vasubandhu's monumental work, the *Abhidharmakośa*, the excellence of which is acknowledged by all the schools of Buddhism. This accounts for the absence of the Tibetan translations of Abhidharma works, particularly those of the early ones.

ANUKUL CHANDRA BANERJEE

27 *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, ed. Hukuju U and others, No. 4421 and *Catalogue du fonds Tibetan*, pt. III, ed. P. Cordier, pp. 499, 500

## An inscribed Sculpture inspired by Hāla's Gāthāsaptasatī

Indian sculpture in the early medieval times was not only an expression of the inner reflexion of the artist or his patron, but it was also based on and rigorously bound to precisely prescribed frame. It had to conform to the measures determined by the masters and the fixed canons of iconography. The medieval image as a *yantra* had transformed the classical sculpture into a mechanism; yet naturalism, its distinctive quality, persists and its reflective quality instead of being stifled by the scientific restrictions imposed by the fact that the image had become a *yantra* finds its fullest expression.

The Indian plastic art of the early medieval age expresses intense religious feeling and devotional attitude of the people. The image serves as an instrument for attracting all attention of the devotee towards the deity. It serves as a manifestation of power (*śakti*), that is formless, leading the devotee through the form to the formless.<sup>1</sup>

The medieval art reflects both the social and the personal in life. It is conditioned by the geography of the place, the religious beliefs and the social conditions of the people. On the whole it is truly indigenous. But to think that religion and the desire to reach the divine alone inspired early medieval sculpture would be to misinterpret its ideological and psychological background. The art continues to follow old traditions, yet it has its own originality and distinctive qualities. The artist was also a *rasika*, one who had his own aesthetic tastes. He admired beauty, appreciated the material form and sought pleasure. He was often inspired by literature, both religious and literary. Sculpture inspired by the Buddhist and the Brahmanical religious literatures, the Jātakas and the works of Kālidāsa are all now well known. Below I describe a basrelief which was inspired by Hāla's *Gāthāsaptasatī*.

This interesting basrelief with an inscription of two lines on its pedestal is lying on the banks of the *bāvali* in Tewar, ancient Tripurī,

1. Sr. Kramrisch: *Indian Sculpture*, p. 93 ff.

on the Bherāghāt road eight miles from Jabalpur. It was first described by Dr. R. D. Banerji in his Memoir: "*The Haihayas of Tripurī and their Monuments*"<sup>2</sup>, but since he did not decipher the inscription which he thought to be badly worn out<sup>3</sup>, he could not correctly describe and identify the scene that this interesting basrelief portrays.

More than two years ago I had an opportunity to examine the basrelief at Tewar, and the inscription, contrary to what Dr. Banerji said about it, did not appear to be indecipherable. Later on Shri N. Lakshminarayan Rao, Superintendent of Epigraphy, visited the place. He copied the inscription on the pedestal of the basrelief and supplied me with a copy of the ink-impression. On deciphering the inscription the meaning of the scene depicted was easily revealed.

The sculpture forms part of a small collection of images on the banks of the *bāvali* at Tewar. These images are now worshipped by the villagers as *kheramāi*. They appear to have been collected from the ruins which were at one time plentifully scattered all over the village and a large area around it. Though the original place from where the basrelief was brought is not known, it appears that it formed part of a palace of the Kalacuri kings who had their capital at Tripurī.

The basrelief measures 3' 9½" in length and 1' 11½" in breadth. It is carved out of a somewhat reddish sandstone which was commonly used for carving out images at Tripurī. Before the scene that the basrelief depicts is described, the reading of the inscription is given.

The inscription on the pedestal of the basrelief consists of two lines and covers a space 11½" long and 1¾" wide. The average size of the letters is five eighth of an inch. They are carefully carved. The inscription has no orthographical peculiarities. The characters are *Nāgarī* and bear close resemblance to those of the inscriptions of the time of the Kalacuri Karṇadeva (1041-c.1070 A.D.) and his immediate successors. The language of the inscription, unlike other inscriptions of the Kalacuri period and mostly found

<sup>2</sup> *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 23, p. 92, pl. XXXIV (b).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92.





The Inscription on the pedestal of the Basrelief at Tewar.

near their capital at Tripurī, is Prākṛta. Prākṛta has been used not because it was commonly used in the area, but mainly for the reason that the verse inscribed was originally in Prākṛta.

The inscription consists of a verse taken from the Prākṛta work *Gāthāsaptāśatī*<sup>4</sup>, which is said to have been composed by the poet Hāla; but more correctly is an anthology of Prākṛta verses composed by a variety of personages at different times and collected together by different persons. The verse in the form it is inscribed slightly differs from the text, or any of its variant readings in Weber's or the *Kāvyamālā* edition of the work.

The inscription reads:—

अलिअपसुत्तअविणि मीलि अइ दे मूह[अ]अमह उवासं ।  
गण्डपरिउम्ब[णा] पुलइअंग ए उणे चिराइस्सम् ॥१॥

In Weber's edition it reads<sup>5</sup>:—

अलिअपसुत्तअविणिमीलि अच्छ दे सुहअ मज्झओआसम् ।  
गण्डपरिउम्बणापुलइ अङ्ग ए पुणा चिराइस्सम् ॥, I. 20

and in the *Kāvyamālā* edition<sup>6</sup>:—

अलिअपसुत्तअविलिमीलि अच्छ दे सुहअ मज्झओआसम् ।  
गण्डपरिउम्बणापुलइअङ्ग ए पुणा चिराइस्सम् ॥ I. 20

The reading of the inscription makes it clear that the basrelief depicts the scene which is described in verse 20, canto I of the *Gāthāsaptāśatī*<sup>7</sup>. The basrelief may now be described as follows:

In a garden selected to be the rendezvous of their romance, the lover awaits the beloved. When she fails to turn up at the appointed

4 I am thankful to my friend and colleague Shri Jagadish Lal Shastri of the Samskrta Department for drawing my attention to the verse occurring in Hāla's *Gāthāsaptāśatī*.

5 Weber: *Über das Saptāśatakam des Hāla*, Canto I, v. 20, pp. 9-10. The following variant readings are given by him.

मीलियच्छ,— देहि (!) मे सुहअ मज्झ दे सुहअ अमह; देहि सुभग ममाऽउआशम्, हे सुभग ममाऽवकाशम् देहीति शेषः; परिउम्बणा °ṇā; परि चुम्बना; °वना -ṇo पुणो, उणो.

6 The *Kāvyamālā* edition gives the following variant reading:—

देसु हअमज्झओआसम् । Canto I, v. 20, p. 12.

7 अलीकप्रसुत्तकविनिमीलितात्त हे सुभग ममावकाशम् ।

गण्डपरिचुम्बनापुलकिताङ्ग न पुनश्चरियिष्यामि ॥



hour, he decides to indicate his disappointment and displeasure by pretending to have slept. He lies down on the cot which he had hoped to share with his beloved, closes his eyes to give an impression that he was asleep and awaits his beloved. The lady of his love reaches the place late and finds that her lover had slept(?). But after all she knew the heart of her lover and suspected pretensions on his part. The very posture in which he was lying on the cot reflected intense feeling of expectancy. He was lying with his left leg stretched and placed over a cushion, his right leg crouching conically and placed on the left and held by the left hand. He had placed his left hand over the jaw-bone below the ear, partly covering the right ear. His head was resting on the pillow and is turned to the left, though he was lying flat on the back. Such a posture certainly could not be of a man who was fast asleep. On the other hand, it clearly revealed that he had been restlessly awaiting his love and suddenly finding that she was approaching, he pretended to have slept. The beloved on arrival, but before disturbing him in his sleep, decided to confirm her suspicions of his pretensions. She quietly sits down on the head-side of the cot and imprints a sweet kiss on her lover's cheek. It was certainly the most pleasant reaction of the beloved to his pretension. His emotions, transformed into a throbbing, rang through his body. But he was exposed. The lady, yet apprehensive of his displeasure, seeks his indulgence at the delay, entreats him to let her share the bed and promises not to be late in future.

The verse inscribed on the pedestal explains only the right half of the basrelief. The scene on the left side does not appear to have any bearing with the verse. On the left side of the basrelief there are shown three women. The woman on the extreme right is seated on the round cushion on which is also placed the left leg of the man sleeping on the cot nearby. With folded hands she appears to be entreating the woman sitting in the middle on a similar cushion. The woman in the middle appears to be in a serious, thoughtful though disturbed mood. She is holding something like a dagger(?) in her left hand and is waited upon by a female attendant, who is also holding something in her hand. The waitress is standing on the right side of her mistress. The woman in the middle appears to be of some consequence and respectable. She is being given some advice by the woman seated on her left. The woman on her left appears to



The Basrelief at Tewar inspired by Hāla's *Gāthāsaptasatī*.



be of inferior status,—this is clear from the respectful attitude that she bears to the former. This part of the basrelief appears to have a close connection with that part which the verse inscribed on its pedestal describes. This is borne out by the fact that the left leg of the man lying on the cot is placed on the round cushion on which is seated the woman on the right and who is tendering advice to the woman in the middle. I have not been able to trace out any verse from the *Gāthāsaptasatī* describing a situation approximating to that depicted in the left half of the basrelief. It appears that this part of the basrelief portrays that part of the story which preceded the one described in the verse inscribed. It seems that the lady finding that she was late in reaching the place of the rendezvous with her lover became anxious and disturbed on account of the displeasure of her paramour that she might incur; she probably apprehended disgrace and disappointment as she may not be any more entertained by him. She had therefore considerable hesitation in going to him. If my identification of the object that she holds in her left hand as a dagger is correct, it would suggest that she was meditating upon committing suicide. The woman seated on her left is trying to allay her suspicions, persuading her not to commit suicide, inducing her to go to her lover and giving her some advice as to how she could please him. It was only after she had been assured of a good reception by her lover and tutored as to how she was to behave with her disappointed lover that the lady went to him to seek joy.

The basrelief published here, as far as I know, is the only example which was inspired by Hāla's *Gāthāsaptasatī*. For literary compositions this work served as a popular source and a number of poets freely borrowed the ideas of the *Gāthāsaptasatī* and based their composition on it. A number of verses of the *Amrūka-śataka* are based upon those of the *Gāthāsaptasatī*. The verse in the *Amrūka-śataka*, which is based on the verse of the *Gāthāsaptasatī* inscribed on the pedestal of the basrelief, is quoted below<sup>8</sup>, but the role that the lady plays in the verse of the *Gāthāsaptasatī* is assigned to the lover in the *Amrūka-śataka*.

शून्यं वासगृहं विलोक्य शयनादुत्थाय किञ्चिच्छनै-  
निद्राव्याजमुपागतस्य सुचिरं निर्वैर्यं पत्युर्मुखम् ।

विश्रब्धं परिचुम्ब्य जातपुलकामालोक्य गरुडस्थलीं

लज्जानम्रमुखी प्रियेण हसता बाला चिरं चुम्बिता ॥७५॥

In later times the celebrated Hindi poet Bihārī, who lived in the court of the Moghul Emperor Akbar, also freely borrowed upon the ideas of Hāla and composed a number of couplets based upon the verses of the *Gāthāsaptasatī*. Bihārī's couplet which he apparently composed on the basis of the idea contained in the verse of the *Gāthā*, inscribed on the pedestal of the basrelief, runs as follows<sup>9</sup>:—

मैं मिसहा सोयौ समुक्ति, मुंह चुम्बौ दिग जाइ ।

हंस्यो, खिसानी, गल गह्यौ, रही गरैं लपटाइ ॥६४२॥

The basrelief possesses all the characteristics of the Kalacuri school of art which had its most creative centre at Tripurī, modern Tewar, in the Jabalpur district. The Tripurī school of art is characteristic for its naturalism, bold outlines, precise contours and crowded compositions. This school of art has remained obscure because it has not so far received the benefits of scholarship. It marks the highest water mark of the medieval plastic art. It surpassed the naturalism and elegance of the Candella art and ranks equal with other schools. The basrelief depicts the scene which the verse inscribed on its pedestal describes most faithfully and realistically. The man lying on the cot appears as pretending to have slept. The tenseness of the emotions and the feelings of love and fright are all mixed up in the expressions of the lady who is shown in the act of imprinting a kiss on the cheeks of her lover whom she wanted to please. The expressions of the lover not only show his pretensions, but also reveal the pleasure that he was quietly experiencing on being kissed by his beloved. He is yet trying to hide his thoughts, though without success. The scene depicted on the left side is equally expressive of the feelings of the three ladies who form its subject. The woman in the middle sits remorsefully thoughtful brooding over the unpleasant situation of which she was certainly an innocent creator. Her feelings are a product of a certain fright on account of the displeasure of her lover that she apprehended to incur and for having missed the opportunity of being one of the *dramatis personae* of the rendezvous which they must have fixed up after considerable planning and secret negotiations. The woman on her left is trying to impress upon her that

her suspicions of not being favourably received by her lover were ill-founded. She appears humble, sympathetic and confident. The woman on the right keeps on attending, sad over the misfortune of her mistress. The artist has beautifully blended the expressions of awe and restrained sympathy on her face. The two scenes are so different from one another; they depict two difficult and complex situations of human life. In both there is a conflict of emotions, feelings and situations.

The art of hairdressing, the style of the ornaments worn by the women, the shape of the cot, the round cushion seats and the clothes of the man and the women give an idea of the civilization which the people of the Cedi land had built up during the Kalacuri period. It also gives an idea of the tastes and the temper of the people.

#### *Date of the Basrelief*

The basrelief belongs to the period when the sun of the glory of the Kalacuri art had crossed over to the other side of the meridian. The signs of the beginning of the decline begin to appear. The tenderness and the roundness of the limbs of the body are tending towards stiffness and becoming linear. This is clear from the forms of practically all the figures that appear in the scene. Dr. Banerji<sup>10</sup> assigned this basrelief to the middle period of the Kalacuri art, which according to him covered the reigns of Karṇa and his immediate predecessors and successors<sup>11</sup>. The characteristic features of the basrelief are the same as those of the plastic art of the eleventh century as described by St. Kramrisch<sup>12</sup>. The characters of the inscription on the pedestal also belong to the period of the eleventh century. The sculpture may be assigned to the eleventh century. It was probably carved out during the reign of the Kalacuri Karṇa, who was the most famous ruler of this dynasty. It is not improbable that it formed part of a wall of one of the palaces of Karṇa in the new city of Karṇāvatī, which he had built hardly a mile and a half from Tripurī.

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<sup>10</sup> *The Haihayas of Tripurī and Their Monuments, A.S.I., Memoir No. 23, pp. 31, 92.*

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92.

<sup>12</sup> *Indian Sculpture*, pp. 93 ff.

## MISCELLANY

### The Original Home of the Imperial Guptas

Sometime ago I published a paper entitled '*The Early Home of the Imperial Guptas*' in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. XIX, p. 332 ff. I pointed out there that the distance and direction from Nalanda of the China Temple, close to Mi-li-kia-si-kia-po-no Temple (restored by Beal and Chavannes as Mṛgaśikhāvana Temple), built by Mahārāja Śrī-Gupta, as stated by I-Tsing in his *K'in-fa-ko-sang-chian*, place it in the Murshidabad District, Bengal. A part of Bengal was therefore within the kingdom of the early Guptas if it was not their early home. Subsequently Dr. R. C. Majumdar drew our attention to a very valuable piece of evidence regarding the location of Mi-li-kia-si-kia-po-no. In an illustrated Cambridge manuscript, dated A. D. 1015, from Nepal, there is a picture of a stūpa with a label 'Mṛgasthāpana Stūpa of Varendrī'.<sup>1</sup> Foucher remarks that the Indian original of Mi-li-kia-si-kia-po-no is Mṛgasthāpana and not Mṛgaśikhāvana as Chavannes has doubtfully restored<sup>2</sup>. This strongly supports my view that Mi-li-kia-si-kia-po-no as mentioned by I-Tsing was situated in Bengal. Dr. Majumdar though agreed with me that Mṛgasthāpana Temple was situated in Bengal did not, however, support my conclusion that it was within the kingdom of Mahārāja Gupta as it went against the Purāṇic testimony. This led me to examine the Purāṇic evidence in this connection and publish a paper entitled '*Purāṇas on the Imperial Guptas*' in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. XXI, p. 141 ff. I showed there that the statements of the early Purāṇas on the subject differ from one another and are not in complete agreement. Even if the statement of an early Purāṇa in the matter as quoted by Mr. Pargiter is assumed to be correct it will be wrong to conclude from it that it describes the extent of the kingdom of the Guptas as it existed prior to the rise of Samudragupta. The Purāṇas under reference mention in the same connection the names of other kings and their kingdoms situated in the central and south-eastern parts

<sup>1</sup> *History of Bengal*, vol. I, published by the Dacca University, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Foucher, *Icon.*, 62-63.

of India. All these statements regarding the political condition of India must have been made with reference to a particular period of Indian history. It cannot be taken to be representing the political condition of India during the rule of the early Guptas as it is not in agreement with the statement of the Allahabad inscription, which gives an idea of the political condition of India on the eve of the rise of Samudragupta. Sometime later Dr. Majumdar himself examined the Purāṇic evidence under discussion and remarked that no serious importance should be attached to its historical value, pointing out the discrepancies in it. He thereupon provisionally accepted my suggestion that a part of Bengal was included in the kingdom of the early Guptas though he did not find any reason to assume that it was their original home<sup>3</sup>.

Mr. Beal published a 'summary' of a part of I-Tsing's *K'iu-fa-ko-sang-chian* in the April number of the *Indian Antiquary* 1881<sup>4</sup>. He made some corrections of the observations he made in that paper in his article entitled '*Two Chinese Buddhist Inscriptions*', published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain* in the latter part of 1881<sup>5</sup>. Subsequently he published a 'resume' of I-Tsing's work in the Introduction to his book '*Life of Hsien Tsang*'<sup>6</sup>, which is an improved study over his two previous articles. Chavannes has published a literal translation of I-Tsing's work, which has drawn admiration from scholars. It is entitled '*Voyages des Pelerins Bouddhistes*'. I mainly used Chavannes' translation while preparing my previous article on the subject.

Dr. B. P. Sinha has recently criticised my view regarding the location of I-Tsing's *Mi-li-kia-si-kia-po-no* in the *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*<sup>7</sup>. He has made an endeavour to identify this temple with that of Mṛgadāva, modern Sarnath, near Banaras, and has offered a suggestion on the basis of it that the early kingdom of the Guptas was in Ayodhya extending upto Banaras. In support of his theory he first quotes from the resume of *K'iu-fa-ko-sang-chian* given

3 *New History of the Indian People*, vol. VI. pp. 129, 130, 134 ed. by Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Dr. A. S. Altekar.

4 *Indian Travels of Chinese Buddhists*, p. 109ff.

5 Pp. 570-571.

6 New Edition, 1911, p. xxxvi ff.

7 Vol. XXXVII, 1951, p. 138ff.



by Beal in his introduction to the Life of Hiuen Tsang and when it does not suit his purpose he quotes from the summary of a portion of the work published by Beal in April, 1881, mentioning that Beal's earlier translations of particular passages are correct and the later ones of the same are faulty. Curiously enough he does not give a single reference to Chavannes' *'Voyages des Pelerins Bouddhistes'* to which attention has already been drawn by Dr. Majumdar and myself and thereby deprives the reader of his article even the knowledge of the existence of a book which presents a faithful translation of I-Tsing's work. He does not also refer to a very important piece of evidence in this connection mentioned in I-Tsing's work, which has been noticed by both Beal and Chavannes. Moreover he does not offer any criticism against the evidence of the Cambridge MSS from Nepal of the 11th century regarding the location of Mi-li-kia-si-kia-po-no.

In order to estimate the value of Dr. Sinha's criticism the relevant passages from Beal's works on which Dr. Sinha claims to have based his theory, may be quoted. In the *'Indian Travels of Chinese Buddhists'* as published in the April number of 1881, *Indian Antiquary*, the relevant passages run—

...“This temple is called Gunacarita. To the north-east of the great Bodhi (the temple just named) about a couple of stages, is another temple called Cālukya.

This is one which was formerly built by a king of the Cālukya kingdom in South India. This temple though poor is remarkable for the religious life of its inmates. In more recent times a king called Jih-Kwan (Sun army) built a new temple by the side of the old one, which is now getting finished, and in which many priests from the South take their residence...

Forty stages or so to the eastward of this we come to the Nalanda Temple. First taking the Ganges and descending it, we reach the Mṛgaśikhāvana Temple. Not far from this is an old temple, the foundations of which alone remain. It is called the China Temple. The old story goes that this temple was built by Śrī-Gupta Mahārāja for the use of priests from China. The king gave them a village of considerable extent... The territory now belongs to the king of Eastern India whose name is Devavarmā. He has given back the temple and its land to the villagers to avoid the

expense of keeping it up, as he would have to do, if any priests from China came there”.

In the article ‘*Two Chinese Buddhist Inscriptions*’, published in *JRAS.*, in the latter part of 1881, the relevant passages run:—

...The Temple is called Gunacarita.

Two stages to the north-east of the Ta-hsia is a Temple called Kiu-lu-kia, because a king of Southern country called Kiu-lu-kia, had long ago built it...

All parts of the world have their appropriate temples, except China, so that priests from that country have many hardships to endure. Eastward, and forty stages following the course of the Ganges, we come to the Mṛgaśikhāvana Temple.... The king...gave them as a gift this plot of land..... The land now belongs to the king of Eastern India, whose name is Devavarmā.”

In the Introduction to the *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, published long after those two articles, mentioned above, the relevant passages run:—

...This Temple is called Gunacarita.

Two stages to the east of the Mahābodhi is a temple called Kiu-lu-kia. It was built long ago by a king of the Kiu-lu-ka country, a southern kingdom (Kurukṣetra?)... Recently a king called Sun-Army (Ādityasena), built by the side of the old temple another, which is now newly finished. Priests from the south occupy this temple.

About forty stages east of this, following the course of the Ganges, is the Deer Temple, not far from this is a ruined establishment, without its foundations remaining, called the Tchina (or China) Temple...Tradition says that formerly a Mahārāja called Śrī-Gupta built this temple for the use of Chinese priests... he gave them the land and the revenues of about twenty villages as an endowment.....The land has now reverted to the king of Eastern India, whose name is Devavarmā, but he is said to be willing to give back the temple land and the endowment in case any priests came from China”.

Dr. Sinha remarks that certain passages in Beal’s translation as given in *JRAS.*, and in the introduction to the *Life of Hiuen Tsang*

have not been faithfully rendered and the corresponding ones as given in the April number of *Indian Antiquary* 1881 are to be accepted as correct. He then concludes—It appears that what I-Tsing meant was that Hwui-lun was describing the route from Ādityasena's temple to the Nalanda temple, and in the course of this he first came across the Mṛgaśikhāvana temple". The temple of Mṛgaśikhāvana was thus in his opinion west of the Nalanda temple and east of the Ādityasena's temple. The Deer Park (Sarnath) is twenty stages or so west of Nalanda.<sup>8</sup> So Mṛgaśikhāvana is to be identified with Mṛgadāva or Deer Park. It was included in the kingdom of the early Guptas whose original home is to be located in Ayodhya.

It will follow from Beal's summary of the work as published in the *Indian Antiquary* that forty stages to the east of Ādityasena's temple one goes to Nalanda wherefrom first descending the Ganges one goes to Mṛgaśikhāvana. Evidently Beal found his translation above erroneous and subsequently consulting the Chinese text corrected the passage in his two later works on the subject as forty stages east of Ādityasena's temple one goes to Mṛgaśikhāvana temple. So neither the old translation by Beal on the subject nor the revised and corrected one by him supports Dr. Sinha's theory which is based on his own conjecture only. In this connection Chavannes' translation of the passage may be quoted as follows<sup>9</sup>:

A plus de quarante relais (yojanas) a l'est du temple Na-lan-t'ouo (Nalanda) en descendant le K'iangkia (Ganges), on arrive au temple Mi-li-kia-si-kia-po-no (Mṛgaśikhāvana)".

This may be translated into English as "about forty stages to the east of the temple of Nalanda, descending the Ganges, one arrives at the temple of Mi-li-kia-si-kia-po-no". I have shown elsewhere that I-Tsing's forty stages are approximately equal to English 240 miles. So according to Beal's revised translation of the passage Mi-li-kia-si-kia-po-no is 240 miles east of the temple of Ādityasena near Mahābodhi or Buddha Gaya and according to Chavannes' translation of it the temple in question is 240 miles east of Nalanda temple following the Ganges. As the temple was situated 240 miles on the east either

8 For reference Dr. Sinha mentions *Life*, Intro. p. xxxiii. But there is no mention of it in that page.

9 *Voyages des Pelerins Bouddhistes*, p. 82.

from Nalanda or Buddha Gaya it must be located somewhere in Bengal.

Dr. Sinha does not make any attempt to locate Ādityasena's temple. According to his calculation it is to be placed somewhere near Allahabad, i.e. 240 miles west of Nalanda passing through Banaras. But Ādityasena is described in an old inscription from Nepal as the king of Magadha. His inscription, dated 672 A. D., also supports it<sup>10</sup>. Hence Ādityasena's temple is to be placed in Magadha near Buddha Gaya. Dr. Sinha is silent on a piece of evidence referred to by I-Tsing in this connection obviously because it directly goes against his theory. I-Tsing says that 20 villages which Śrī-Gupta donated for the maintenance of the China Temple were during his time situated in the kingdom of Devavarmā, king of Eastern India. I-Tsing mentions elsewhere in his work that Tāmralipta and Harikelā (Vaṅga) are situated in Eastern India and Magadha is situated in Mid-India.<sup>11</sup> Devavarmā's kingdom certainly lay to the east of Magadha, which was about this time ruled by the Later Guptas<sup>12</sup>. It will follow that the villages, which Śrī-Gupta donated for the maintenance of the China temple, were situated somewhere in Eastern India i.e. somewhere in Bengal. The villages were evidently in the neighbourhood of the China temple and the temple of Mṛgasthāpana. The Cambridge MSS from Nepal of the 11th century definitely settles the question by locating Mṛgasthāpana in Varendrī or North Bengal. Thus on the evidence of I-Tsing it may be stated that a part of Varendrī if not the whole of it was included in the kingdom of Mahārāja Śrī-Gupta. As the Mahārāja Śrī-Gupta was a petty ruler his kingdom does not seem to have extended beyond the limits of that country.

D. C. GANGULY

10 Fleet, *Gupta Ins.*; *IA*, IX.

11 *Life*, Intro., pp. xx, xxx; Chavannes, p. 106.

12 For the identification of Devavarmā cf. Author's "Relation between Bengal and China in Ancient Time." *Proc. Trans.*, 12th All India Oriental Conference, Benares, Pt. II, p. 544ff.; *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, vol. I, p. 87, fn. 8.

## Two Tamil Inscriptions in Mahakoshal

In 1951, during the course of my official tour, I copied two *Tamil* inscriptions on two tomb-stones at Sleemanābād (Sihōra Tehsil, Jabalpur District, Madhya Pradesh) at mile 39/5 of the Jabalpur-Katni road. The existence of these inscriptions was brought to the notice of the Epigraphical Department by Muni Kanti Sagar, a Jain ascetic who has been taking keen interest in the discovery and preservation of Indian antiquities and who is the editor of a Hindi journal called “Jñānodaya”, published at Banaras.

These inscriptions provide us with contemporary epigraphical evidence of the military operations connected with the Great Indian Mutiny of 1857 in this part of the country, *viz.*, Mahakoshal. The earlier of the two records (called *A* in the sequel) is dated Friday the 6th November, 1857, and the other (called *B*) Saturday the 29th May 1858. *A* records the death of *Rāmasāmi* who is described as a Gun Lascar, of the Third Battalion of the *Madras Artillery*. He is stated to have died as a result of being hit on the forehead by a bullet in the battle of *Muruvāḍā*. *B* says that Sepoy *Daniel*, belonging to the 3rd company of the *First Martin Madras Native Infantry* of the 28th regiment, died of a delirious fever, when his company was camping at *Silamānbād*.

The accuracy of the information contained in these inscriptions is vouched for by Lt. Colonel E. G. Phythian Adams, who has made a thorough use of the records of the Military Department, while writing his book “The Madras Soldier 1746-1946”. This veteran soldier to whom I referred the contents of these inscriptions was kind enough to enlighten me on many points. The relevant portions from his letters to me on the subject are quoted below.

“Gun Lascar Ramasami no doubt belonged to one of the three companies of Madras Foot Artillery serving with General Whitlock’s Madras Division in that area. At that time there were three European, and one Indian battalions of Foot Artillery on the Madras establishment, the former each of four companies and the latter of ten. So Ramasami’s company might have been either D or T, according to which he was serving with. Indian Gun Lascars were on the establishment of all Artillery companies whether European or Indian.”

\* “The 28th Madras Native Infantry were at Hoshangabad in 1857 and later on active service in Bengal. That accounts for their presence so far afield. This regiment was named “Martin-ke-Paltan”, after its first commandant, and I expect “paṣṭu Mātṭin” refers to that”.

“When writing my book “The Madras Soldier 1746-1946”, I found it extremely difficult to trace the movements of the many Madras Units engaged during that period in so many parts of India. No less than 18 of our 56 Madras Infantry Regiments were employed, as well as Madras Cavalry, Artillery, Sappers and Rifles; so there must be many hundreds of graves of our men who died outside the Madras Province, between 1857 and 1860.”

There are two views regarding the purpose of the Indian Mutiny. One is that it aimed at bringing about the freedom of India from the British yoke and consequently that it was a war of independence. The other view is that it was just a sporadic military uprising with which all sections of the army were not in sympathy. If we take the latter view, the two Madras soldiers, Rāmasāmi and Daniel, who were fighting on the side of the British during the Mutiny may be regarded as disciplined soldiers, loyal to their army. Whether we regard them as loyal soldiers or as men who lacked patriotism, the fact that the inscriptions are in Tamil, proves amply the burning love of the Tamil soldier for his mother tongue, however far he might be from his own native province.

Of the *places* mentioned in these inscriptions Śilamānbāḍai and Śilamānbād are clearly Sleemanābād, where the inscriptions were found; Muruvāḍā is Murwara near Katni. Sleemanābād was named after Sir William Sleeman, who was the British Resident at Lucknow from 1849 to 1856.

#### Text of A<sup>1</sup>

- 1 1857 varu / Nava-
- 2 mbaṟ mā / 6 ti / Maḍṟāsh
- 3 Āṭṭilleṟi 3ṇā
- 4 paṭṭālam T - kampa[ṇi]
- 5 gaṇ - lashkāṟ Rāmasāmi

1 The Tamil used in both these records is not quite chaste. Evidently the writers were not well educated.

- 6 Muruvādā śaṇḍa-  
 7 yil guṇḍu netti-  
 8 yil paṭṭu Velli-  
 9 kiḷamai kālambaṛa  
 10 6½ maṇikki maṇaṇa-  
 11 m = aḍandār Śilamāṇ-  
 12 bādaiyil koṇḍu-van-  
 13 du aḍakkilam śeydā-  
 14 [r]gaḷ yidu aṇiyavum [||\*]

*Engraved sidewise*

- 15 Yivaruḍaiya tambī Vēmbilī śey[dār] [||\*]

*Translation*

On the 6th day of November 1857, Rāmasāmi, a Gun Lascar attached to the T (or D) company of the Third Battalion of the Madras Artillery, received a gun-shot on his forehead at the battle of Muruvādā and died on Friday<sup>2</sup> in the morning at 6½ hours. He was brought to Sleemanābād and buried. May this be known.

(*This was*) set up by Vēmbilī, his younger brother.

*Text of B*

- 1 1858  
 2 varu / 28-va-  
 3 du riichimen-  
 4 ru Madaṛās Nē-  
 5 rriiv = inpe-  
 6 rri Paṭṭu Māṭṭin 3 Kam-  
 7 paṇi Śilamāṇbāttukku davu-  
 8 ḍu vandu yirukkum pōdu 3 Kamp-  
 9 paṇi Śippāyi Dāṇiēlukku kāch-  
 10 chal kaṇḍu jaṇṇi purandu Mēy mā  
 11 29 tēdi Śaṇikkiḷamaik-kāla-  
 12 mē 5½ maṇikki Ā-

2 This Friday coincides with the 6th November, 1857 cited above.

- 13 ṇḍavaruḍaiya para-
- 14 gati aḍaindāṅ
- 15 adē 3 Kamppa-
- 16 ṇiyil yirunda Ki-
- 17 riṣṭṭavargaḷu-
- 18 m ṭeṇṇu-lās-
- 19 kkar Giṇāmm Meḱka-
- 20 ēl enmbava-
- 21 rum ellārum yē-
- 22 kōppittuk-kū-
- 23 [ḍi] yindak-kalla-
- 24 rai kaṭṭi-vai-
- 25 ttōm [||\*]

Translation

In 1858 when the First Maṭṭin (Martin) 3rd Company of the Madras Native Infantry belonging to the 28th Regiment came on a military march to Silamānbād and lay in camp there, Sepoy Daniel of the 3rd Company developed fever and delirium and on Saturday the 29th May in the morning at 5½ hours attained the abode of the Almighty. The Christians in the same Company as well as Tent Lascar Giṇāmm (Graham?) Michael, all in joint endeavour, had this stone tomb erected.

N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO



## A Pallava Viṣṇu

Doubts have long existed as to whether the Pallavas, who ruled in South India from early 7th to the late 9th centuries, ever took to bronze casting. On the strength of two bronzes in the Madras Museum, a Naṭarāja, and a Viṣapaharaṇa, it may be stated that they did take to bronze towards the end of their power. Vaiṣṇavite Pallava pieces however have not been so far represented in any Museum, and the Viṣṇu now illustrated is unique.

Pallavas were essentially workers in stone, and when they took to metal casting, imported into their works a stone quality, a sense of stature and solidity. In the sample, Viṣṇu appears hefty with even a double chin. The bust is a rectangle with very little attenuation towards the waist.

Pallava sculptures frequently depict the *yajñopavita* as if fallen over the hands. To stone workers it must have been a feat of skill to represent the thread in that way, instead of as a ridge or scratch across the bust, and they revelled in doing the difficult. This feature continued into their bronzes, but as metal could be easily cast into any shape, there was no point in the device and it became obsolete in later times.

The sacred thread of the Pallavas was thick and looked like a rope with a clasp usually depicted at the chest. Some scholars are of the opinion that the twice borns of the ancient times did not wear the thread constantly but only on ceremonial occasions. The Pallava form of sacred thread indicates that some sects at least used the thread on occasions only. The pitted nature of the thread is noteworthy and perhaps indicates that they are pearl strings.

A piece of cloth hanging by its ends at the waist and forming a semi-circular loop above the knees, appears to have been a part of the drapery of the time, or of some period within recent memory of the Pallavas. As such, it was represented realistically. When that item of dress became obsolete, the loop became gradually smaller and was reduced to a mere symbolism.

The waist cloth seems tied in the informal fashion of the people of Madras, though this is not apparent from the front view. In some stone statues of an older Pallava period it looks like the Scottish



A Pallava Venu



kilt. The end of a cloth is conspicuously displayed at the region of the navel.

The arched condition of the back hands holding the symbols is a pleasing feature of Pallava sculpture. The god appears to acknowledge the homage of the devotees and it looks as though the hands might have met over the head in *añjali* if he were not preoccupied with his conch and *cakra*. The arms became straight and angular in Cola and later times.

The symbols are held with the fingers bent and not at the tip or in between two uplifted fingers as in later metal images of Viṣṇu. The flames emanating from the disc and conch are rudimentary. As art became less of inspiration and more of elaboration of details, the flames became larger and ultimately ribbons and scarfs began to hang from them.

The mudra of the lower right hand is peculiar, being neither *Abhaya* or *Varada*. Viṣṇu seems to hold out his palm and invite the devotees to give him all they have brought.

The lower left is in *katyavalambitum*. The Pallavas had a partiality for this posture and depicted gods, goddesses, personalities, and flying figures with one hand in that posture, apparently considered one of regal dignity.

Pallava necklaces are in marked contrast to the three tiered patterns of the Cola and later period. Some sculptures of Mahabali-puram reveal a flat band with or without decorations on it ; some show a row of beads. The present Viṣṇu shows a combination of a flat band with a line of beads.

The image measures slightly more than 8 inches without the pedestal, and is reported to have come from Arkonam near Conjee-puram, and bears evidence of having been dug out of the earth. Besides calcareous particles of earth sticking to the metal, a large spade mark is found on the chest. A smaller spade mark below the nose gives the appearance of a moustache.

The image may be assigned to the late Pallava period in the 9th century.

## Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Adyar Library Bulletin (Brahmavidya) vol. XVI, pt. 4

- C. KUNHAN RAJA.—*In Defence of Mīmāṃsā*. The purpose of the paper is to show that the concepts underlying the doctrines of Mīmāṃsā in respect of God, worship and morality satisfy the needs of rationalism.
- U. VENKATAKRISHNA RAO.—*Bhāsa and his Early Affiliations*. Imbued with the Epic thoughts of Vālmiki and Vyāsa, Bhāsa has shown in his dramas a strict adherence to the theories of Arthaśāstra and rules of Dharmaśāstra.
- P. SRINIVASAMURTI.—*Aeronautics in Ancient India*. The note reports the discovery of a Sanskrit treatise called *Vaimānikaśāstra* by Bharadvāja dealing with the manufacture of aeroplanes.

### SERIAL PUBLICATIONS :

*R̥gveda-bhāṣyā of Skandasvāmin.*

*Vedāntakārikāvali of Veṅkaṭācārya.*

*Āṅgirasasmṛti.*

*Vṛttaratnāvali of Veṅkaṭeśa with English Translation.*

*Vedāntasāra of Rāmānuja with English Translation.*

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- SUNDER LAL HORA.—*Fish in the Rāmāyaṇa*. There are miscellaneous references to fish in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and five particular species are mentioned in the different recensions of the epic. They have been described here, and methods of catching them from the Pampā lake as referred to in the work have been discussed.
- BISWANATH BANDYOPADHYAYA.—*A Note on the Kālacakratānta and its Commentary*. The Note gives in brief an idea of the contents of the *Kālacakratānta* and its commentary *Vimalaprabhā* dealing with the later phase of Tantric Buddhism known as Kālacakrayāna.
- DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.—*Chidvilāsa Plates of Devendravarman; Gaṅga year 397*. Devendravarman, an Eastern Gaṅga ruler of the 9th century issued the charter in favour of donees who were *Vaṃśaja Brāhmaṇas* inhabiting the village of Siviḍigrāma.

- BHAVATOSH BHATTACHARYA.—*Notes on Devalasmṛiti*. A suggestion has been made for a reconstruction of texts of the lost *Devalasmṛiti* found quoted in digests and commentaries. Devala's verses on 'gifts' cited in Ballāla's *Dānasāgara* have been rendered into English.
- R. C. HAZRA.—*The Sāmbapurāṇa through the Ages*. The Upapurāṇa has been analysed to show that it contains different strata indicating its handlings in various 'climes and ages'.
- CHINTAHARAN CHAKRABARTI.—*Application of Vedic Mantras in Tantric Rites*.
- R. C. MAJUMDAR.—*Madanapāla and Govindapāla*. Objection is raised about some of the statements of Dr. D. C. Sircar on the history and chronology of the Pāla kings of Bengal, especially on the initial years of the reigns of Madanapāla and Govindapāla.
- AHMAD HASAN DANI.—*The House of Raja Gaṇeśa of Bengal*.
- DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.—*Spread of Aryanism in Bengal*. Aryanism is said to have entered Bengal through the northern region of the country and spread its influence first in Vaṅga or East Bengal.
- ROLF HENKI.—*The Clay Images from Fondoukistan*. The Buddhistic sculptures described in the paper are now preserved in the Museum of Kabul. Found among the ruins of a Buddhist monastery in the village of Fondoukistan in the district of Ghorbond, these objects of art are products of a blend of different styles.

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- V. S. AGRAWALA.—*The Use of a Scythian Title in a Mathurā Image Inscription*. The Scythian title *erjhuṇa* (=Kumāra) is found engraved on the pedestal of a Buddha statuette. The Macedonian month-name of Gurppiya (=Gorpia:us=September) is also used in the Puṇyaśālā Inscription of Huviṣka.
- SUBHADRA JHA.—*Studies on the Paippalāda Atharvaveda: Books I and II*. Information regarding the Paippalāda recension of the *Atharvaveda* is brought together and its eastern domicile is suggested.
- BANKEY BIHARI MISRA.—*The Judicial Administration of the East India Company in Bengal, 1765-1782*.

VISHWANATH PRASAD VARMA.—*Studies in Hindu Political Thought and its Metaphysical Foundation*. The nature of the concept of Dharma and its influence on Hindu Political Philosophy is the subject-matter of this instalment of the paper.

RADHA KRISHNA CHAUDHARY.—*Early History of Mithilā*. Accounts of Mithilā as found in the Epics, Purāṇas and Jātakas are outlined. In the historical period, it came under the Guptas and then under Harṣa. Proofs of Tibetan suzerainty over the country are pointed out.

**Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute,**

Vol. VIII, pt. 4

TARAKESHWAR BHATTACHARYA.—*Date of the Bhārata War*. In reply to the arguments put forward in favour of the year 2449 B.C. as the date of the Māhābhārata war, the writer sticks to his own suggestion viz. 1432-31 B.C. as the date.

JNANENDRALAL MAJUMDAR.—*Philosophy of Gauḍapāda (Alātaśānti-prakaraṇa)*.

BHAKTI SUDHA MUKHOPADHYAYA.—*The Tripura Episode in Sanskrit Literature*. The legend of Tripura as occurring in the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas is discussed in the paper.

B. KARUNES.—*Teachings of the Dhammapada*.

RAM SHANKAR BHATTACHARYA.—*Some Principles of Tracing Pre-Pāṇinian Portions in Pāṇinian Works*.

A. H NIZAMI.—*Nine Gems of the Court of Mahārājā Bhāvasiṃha of Rewa*. Six scholars, one personal attendant, one capitalist, and one minister are the nine courtiers of Bhāvasiṃha, the Baghela ruler of the 17th century. Some details about them are given in the paper from the eulogistic account left by Rūpāṇi Śarmā.

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S. N. VYAS.—*Love and Longing in the Rāmāyaṇa*.

NILMADHAV SEN.—*On the Syntax of the Cases in the Rāmāyaṇa*.

V. M. KULKARNI.—*The Rāmāyaṇa Version of Saṅghadāsa as found in the Vasudeva Hīṇḍī*. Saṅghadāsa's *Vasudevahiṇḍī* is an early prose work of legends written in Jain Mahārāṣṭrī. The legendary narrative of Rāma as given by Saṅghadāsa has been compared here

- with accounts of Vālmīki and Vimala, the author of the *Paūmācariya*.
- LUDO ROCHER.—*The Daṇḍaviveka of Vardhana: Notes on Textual Criticism.*
- A. S. NATARAJA AYYAR.—*The Doctrine of Abhayapradāna and its Application.* The offering of protection to others was a special trait in Rāma's character.
- RADHAKRISHNA CHAUDHARY.—*Administration of Law and Justice in Ancient India.*
- SIBDAS CHAUDHURI.—*Bibliography of Buddhistic Studies II.*
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